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RĀJAGRIHA IN ANCIENT
LITERATURE

BY

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PREFACE

A detailed study of important ancient historical sites is greatly needed. In this monograph an attempt has been made to give an exhaustive and systematic account of Rājagṛiha, one of the most important ancient Indian cities, from all the available literary sources, Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist. I may draw the readers' attention to the map of Rājagṛiha published in the *Archæological Survey Report* for 1905-06. I am grateful to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of Archæology in India, for kindly asking me to undertake this work. I trust that this treatise will be found useful by those for whom it is intended.

BIMALA CHURN LAW

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RĀJAGRIHA IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

1 DIFFERENT NAMES : THEIR ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE

Kusāgrapura,¹ Girivraja² and Rājagriha³ (Pali *Rājagaha*, Ārddha-Māgadhi *Rājagriha*) are the three familiar names by which the ancient and earlier capital of Magadha⁴ is known in ancient literature. Kusāgrapura, which is represented by Jinaprabhasūri as the earlier name of Rājagriha,⁵ cannot be traced in any of the Pāli or Ārddha-Māgadhi works. Hwen Tsang transliterates this name in Chinese as *Ku-shê-ka-lo-pu-lo*, which Julien wrongly restores by Kusāgrapura or 'Palace of the Kusā house'.⁶ Watters who restores it by Kusāgrapura observes: "The translation *shang-mao* 'superior reed-grass' apparently supposes the word *Kusāgra*".⁷ According to the Chinese pilgrim's itinerary, "the city derived its name from the excellent fragrant reed-grass which abounded there".⁸

As for the second name Girivraja, its origin or significance is not far to seek. The city was called Girivraja because it was 'guarded by a cluster of close-set five hills'.⁹ Buddhaghosa explains the Pali *Giribbaja* as meaning 'an enclosure of hills'.¹⁰ Thus Girivraja may be taken to simply mean 'a hill-girt city'.

The third name Rājagriha, which literally means a 'royal abode', 'royal residence', or 'royal seat', is thus accounted for by Buddhaghosa: "*Rājagaha* is a town so named. It is called *Rājagaha* because it was used as a residence (lit. seized) by Mandhātā, Mahāgovinda, and the rest. But as others explain it, *Rājagaha* is just a name chosen for the town concerned".¹¹ Dhammapāla refers to another opinion accounting for the name Rājagaha as a prison for mimical kings (*patirāyānāṃ gahabhūllatā*).¹²

¹ *Majjhīma-Nikāya*, Patali, LXIII, where Kusāgrapuri occurs as another form of the name, Jinaprabhasūri's *Vandha-titha-kalpa*, *Varāhāgiri-kalpa*, v. 14

² *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparva*, Ch. XXI, 3, *Samyutta-nikāya*, Pt. II, p. 185

³ *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparva*, Ch. XXI, 40, *Vaṇavan*, *Tithayātāparva*, 6-82-104, etc.

⁴ *Pāṭaliputra*, *Kusumapura*, or *Pushyapura* was the later capital

⁵ *Vandha-titha-kalpa*, *Varāhāgiri-kalpa*, v. 14.

⁶⁻⁷ Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 149

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 148

⁹ *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparva*, Ch. XXI, v. 3 *Ette jñātha mūlāś ingā pa vatāś sītala-drumāś rabhasantivābhāsamhatya samhatīgā Gv vrayam*. *Sutta-nipāta*, p. 72. *Agamā Rājagahan Buddho Magadhānam Giribbajam*. "Giribbajam ts vdam pa tassa nāman, tam hi Pāṇḍava-Gryhabhūta-Vohitva-Irgili-Vepulla-nāmalānam puñchannam gvinam magge vago vgo thitam, tasmā Giribbajam ts vucchati. *Sutta-nipāta Commentary*, II, p. 382

¹⁰ *Sāṅgheyyakāya*, II, p. 159 *Magadha-sāthassa Giribbaje giri-parikkhepe thito ts attho*.

¹¹ *Sumangala-vāṇanā*, I, p. 132: *Rājagaha* ts evam-nāmaṃ nagare Tam hi Mandhātva-Mahāgovindā-*gahitā* Rājagahan ts vucchati. *Aśīte nāman etam nagarasu*

¹² *Udāna-vāṇanā*, Siamese Ed., p. 32 Cf. *Bhāgavata Purāna*, X, Ch. 7, according to which king Jarasandha imprisoned several kings in Rājagriha.

Check
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According to Jinaprabhasūri, the city which eventually came to be called Rājagriha was known from time to time by such earlier names as Kṣhīpratīśṭha, Chanakapura, Rishabhapura, and Kuśāgrapura,¹ the first three of which are not met with elsewhere, in Buddhist or Brahmanical literature. We come across two other names of the ancient city, namely Vasumati in the *Rāmāyana*² and Bārhadrathapura in the *Mahābhārata*.³

2 GENERAL DESCRIPTION AND TOPOGRAPHY

The *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhāparva*), which professes to give an earlier account of Rājagriha⁴ when it was used as the capital by king Jarāsandha and known by the name of Girivraja, describes the royal city as one guarded by five close-set hills with large peaks. The five hills with which this beautiful royal city was girt and made impregnable on all sides (*durādharsham samantataḥ*) were Vaihāra, the large mountain (*vipulaḥ śailo*), Vārāha, Vṛṣabhā, Rishigiri, and Śubhachaityaka.⁵ The five hills around the city, as named in a second enumeration, were Pāndara, Vipula, Vārāhaka, Chaityaka, the best of mountains (*griśīśeṣtha*), and Mātanga, the rocky elevation (*śīlochchaya*).⁶ This capital of Magadha which 'might have a view' by persons from a distance from the Gorathagiri⁷ (modern Barabar hills)⁸ lay concealed, as it were, in *lodhra* (*racemosa*) trees adorned all over with fragrant and delightful blossoms. It also abounded with the beautiful groves of *Pippala* trees. It was the place where once dwelt such holy personages as Rishi Dīrghatamas, the high-souled Gautama, and the sage Kāṁśhivān. It was again the place that contained the excellent abodes of Svastika and Maṇināga, the two serpents that tormented the enemies. On the five great hills, Pāndara, Vipula, Vārāhaka, Chaityaka, and Mātanga, were the abodes of all *siddhas*, the hermitages of anchorites and high-souled *munis*, and the haunts of powerful bulls, *Gandharvas*, *Rākshasas*, and *Nāgas*. The hot springs, famous as *Tapodās*,⁹ were praised by all *siddhas* as *punya-tīrthas* (holy waters for purificatory baths).¹⁰ *Maṇināga* was the tutelary deity of the place, while the *yakṣkūṭas* were the minor deities of appreciable importance.¹¹ It was then a flourishing city, populous and

¹ *Vaiśāṇa-tātha-kalpa*, *Vaiśāṇa-giri-kalpa*, vv 13-14 *Kṣhīpratīśṭhādī nāmānyā vāhādīni tadā tadā, Kṣhīpratīśṭha-Chanakapura-rishabhāpurābhūṭam Kuśāgrapuraśāmyām cha kramād Rājagrihāvayam*

Hwen Tsang's explanation of the origin of the name Kuśāgrapura may not at all be correct. See *passim*

² I, 32 7

³ II, 24 44

⁴ Though the account given refers to an earlier state of things, it is highly improbable that, as one has it, it is earlier than that contained in the Pāli Canon. The neighbouring hill which is called Gorathagiri has been named Khalatika (Bald) in the inscriptions of Aśoka as well as the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, New Series, Vol I)

⁵ *Sabhāparva*, Ch. XXI, v. 2 *Vaihāro vipulāḥ śailo Vārāho Vṛṣabhasasthā tathā Rishigristāṭu Śubhāchaityaka-pāñchamāḥ*

⁶ *Ibid*, Ch. XXI, v 11 *Pāndaro Vipulo chaitya tathā Vārāhake' pi cha Chaityabe cha griśīśeṣtha Mātange cha śīlochchaye*

⁷ *Ibid*, Ch XX, v. 30 *Goratham giri āśāya dāśīśur Māgadhāṁ pṛam*

⁸ See Jackson's identification of Gorathagiri in *JBORS*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 162, Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves*, p 224

⁹ *Kāśhivatastapovīryāt Tapodā itī vīśrutāḥ*.

¹⁰ *Sabhāparva*, Ch. XXI, vv 1-14

¹¹ *Vanaparva*, *Tīrthayātrāparva*, 6-82-105, 106, 107.



COORG INSCRIPTIONS

(REVISED EDITION)

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EPIGRAPHIA CARNATICA.

VOL. I.



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WORKS REFERRED TO

AQR	Asiatic Quarterly Review.
DKD	Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts by Dr. Fleet
EC	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Epigraphia Carnatica
EI	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Epigraphia Indica.
IA	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Indian Antiquary
IGI	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Imperial Gazetteer of India.
Ind Pal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(Grundriss of) Indo-Aryan Palaeography by Dr. Buhler.
JRAS	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
MAR	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Mysore Archæological Report
Mad AR	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Madras Archæological Report.
Mad EpR	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Madras Epigraphical Report
MCI	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions
SBE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Sacred Books of the East, ed by Prof Max Müller

PREFACE

FOLLOWING on my decipherment and publication of the Mercara plates in 1872, I discovered the Ganga inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5, and some copies, mostly imperfect, of various inscriptions in Coorg were furnished to me by Government in the time of Colonel Hill with a view to their being translated. But owing to all my spare time being taken up with numerous other important engagements and absence on duty in Calcutta, it was not till 1886 that the first edition of this work was issued. Though the light thus thrown upon the early history of the country was valuable as far as it went, I could not but regret, when recently called upon to compile the Gazetteer of Coorg for the new Imperial Gazetteer of India, the absence of fuller and more satisfactory information on the subject. Under the conviction that something additional might probably be found in the way of epigraphic records, I deputed two of my Archæological Assistants, with the approval of the Commissioner (Mr. Lionel Davidson), to make inquiries. The result fully justified my expectation. For copies of a number of inscriptions previously unknown were obtained, which enabled the filling up of the blanks hitherto existing in the past history. These were published as supplements to the Tumkūr and Bangalore volumes (xii and ix) of my *Epigraphia Carnatica*. Four more have now been added of which notice was received from Mr. L. T. Harris.

But the Government of India having been pleased, on the application of the Chief Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr S. M. Fraser, to sanction the issue of a revised edition of the work, brought up to date, the opportunity has been taken of collecting all belonging to Coorg, now more than trebled in number, into one volume in this edition, and publishing them on the same plan as in the remaining volumes of the series, of which this forms the first. For the present edition I have received much assistance from the impressions procured for me by Rao Sāhib Krishna Śāstri, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle.

HARROW-ON-THE-HILL,

Easter 1913

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS FOR THE NAMES OF TĀLUQS, USED IN THE EPIGRAPHIA CARNATICA

Sign	Tāluq	District	Volume	Sign	Tāluq	District	Volume
Am	Ānekal . . .	Bn	IX	Kp	Koppa . . .	Kd	VI
Ag	Aīkalgāḍ . . .	Hn	V	Kr	Kṛṣṇanāyapēt . . .	My	IV
Ak	Aīsakore . . .	Hn	V	Kg	Kuṇḡal . . .	Tm	XII
Bg	Bāgepalli . . .	Kl	X	Mi	Madḡagiri . . .	Tm	XII
Bn	Baṅgalore . . .	Bn	IX	Ma	Māḡaḍi . . .	Bn	IX
Bl	Belūr . . .	Hn	V	Ml	Malavalli . . .	My	III
Bp	Bowṇapēt . . .	Kl	X	Mr	Mālu . . .	Kl	X
Cl	Chāḷḡkore . . .	Cd	XI	Md	Mandya . . .	My	III
Ch	Chānnāyānagar . . .	My	IV	Mj	Manjārūbād . . .	Hn	V
Ci	Channagiri . . .	Sh	VII	Mk	Mojukūlmuru . . .	Cd	XI
Cp	Channapaṭṇa . . .	Bn	IX	Mg	Madgore . . .	Kd	VI
Cn	Channāyāpaṭṇa . . .	Hn	V	Mb	Melbūḡal . . .	Kl	X
CB	Chik-Ballīpur . . .	Kl	X	My	Mysore . . .	My	III
Cm	Chikmugalū . . .	Kd	VI	Ng	Nāḡamangala . . .	My	IV
Ck	Chikṇīyakanhalli . . .	Tm	XII	Nr	Nagar . . .	Sh	VIII
Ct	Chuntāman . . .	Kl	X	Nj	Naṇḡḡḡḡ . . .	My	III
Cd	Chitaldīoḡ . . .	Cd	XI	Nl	Nelamangala . . .	Bn	IX
Cg	Coḡḡ . . .	Cg	I	Pg	Pāḡugala . . .	Tm	XII
Dg	Dāvāṅore . . .	Cd	XI	Sa	Sāḡar . . .	Sh	VIII
Dv	Dōvanhalli . . .	Bn	IX	Sr	Serīḡapaṭam . . .	My	III
DB	Dod-Ballīpur . . .	Bn	IX	Sk	Shikūrpnr . . .	Sh	VII
Gd	Gōi thulnū . . .	Kl	X	Sh	Shimoga . . .	Sh	VII
Gh	Gubbi . . .	Tm	XII	Sd	Sulḡaghatta . . .	Kl	X
Gu	Gundalpēt . . .	My	IV	Sī	Sira . . .	Tm	XII
Hn	Hassan . . .	Hn	V	Sb	Sorab . . .	Sh	VIII
Hg	Hegḡaladōvanakōṭe . . .	My	IV	SIB	Śrāvāna-Belḡola . . .	Hn	II
Hr	Hiriyār . . .	Cd	XI	Sg	Śrāṅgeri . . .	Kd	VI
Hk	Holalkere . . .	Cd	XI	Sp	Śrīnīvāpur . . .	Kl	X
HN	Hole-Narsipur . . .	Hn	V	Tk	Tankere . . .	Kd	VI
HI	Honnālī . . .	Sh	VII	Tp	Tiptār . . .	Tm	XII
Ht	Hoskōṭe . . .	Bn	IX	Tl	Tīrtahalli . . .	Sh	VIII
HS	Hunsū . . .	My	IV	TN	Tīrmakadal-Narsipur . . .	My	II
Jl	Jagālār . . .	Cd	XI	Tm	Tamkār . . .	Tm	XII
Kd	Kadār . . .	Kd	VI	Yd	Yedatore . . .	My	IV
Kn	Kānkūnhalli . . .	Bn	IX	Yl	Yelandār . . .	My	IV
Kl	Kōlūr . . .	Kl	X				

LIST OF NĀDS IN THE TĀLUQS OF COORG

Madikēri or Meroāra Tāluq—

Horamale-nād

Hālēri-nād

Horūr-Nūrokkal-nād

Uluguh-Mudikēri-nād

Hudikēri-Mandapa-nād

Kāntamūr-nād

Kaggodlu-nād

Pādnālknād Tāluq—

Pādnālknād

Kādiyat-nād

Kuyangēri-nād

Benga-nād

Tavu-nād

Yedenālknād Tāluq -

Yedenālknād

Beppu-nād

Ammatti nād

Kiggaṭnāl Tāluq—

Anchikēri-nād

Tavalakēri-nād

Hatgaṭ-nād

Bettiyatt-nād

Nanjarāṇpatna Tāluq—

Ramasvāmi-Kanave-hōbli

Nanjarāṇpatna-hōbli

Yeḍava-nād

Gadi-nād

Surlabimuttu-nād

(Old Yēlusāwira-śime)

Kodli-hōbli

Bilaha-nād

Niduta-nād

COORG INSCRIPTIONS

INTRODUCTION

THE inscriptions of Coorg, though few in number, are of importance, especially the earlier ones. It is true they tell us little about the Kodagas, or Coorgs, themselves. Nor was this to be expected, for the Coorgs are naturally an unlettered race, their very language having no written characters¹; and although the predominant class, they form no more than one-fifth of the population. The earliest express mention of the Kodagas that has been met with in inscriptions is in 1174, in the time of the Hoysala king Vīra-Ballāla (Hs 20). They are also mentioned in 1722, in the time of Chikka Dēva-Rāja of Mysore (Sr 64). But the name Kudakam (Coorg) apparently occurs in Tamil literature so far back as the 2nd century²; and the Seven Kombu of Sk 136 may have reference to Coorg in 1068.

Nevertheless, some idea may be formed of ancient divisions of the country. Thus, in 887, under the Gangas, we have mention (Cg 2) of the Male Thousand (the hill country to the west). This was apparently ruled in 977 by four Malepas or hill chiefs (Cg 4). In 1013, Kuda-malanād in Tamil (TN 35), Kodaga-malenād in Kannada (TN 122), is included in the conquests of the Chōla king Rājārāja. In 1095 the Kadamba Duddharasa is described (Cg 57) as 'a pleasure-garden of the Malepas,' meaning perhaps that they found with him a safe retreat. In 1124 we find (Bl 178) the Changālvas coming to the aid of the Malepas against the Hoysalas. And in 1174 two Coorg chiefs (? Malepas) and the Kodagas of all the nāds assisted the Changālva king in his final struggle against the Hoysalas (Hs 20). From the mention here of Kuruche, this may have been a chief place of the Malepas. In 1275 and 1281 the Hoysala king Nārasimha III signs himself (Md 79, TN 100) *Malaparol-ganda*, 'champion among the Malapas or Malepas,' but this may have been a Hoysala title from the beginning.

In the south-east, also under the Gangas, in 888 and 978 (Cg 2, 4) there was a district called the Peddoregare or Beddoregare Seventy (the banks, *gare*, of the Ped-dore or big river, the existing Doddahole or Lakshmantīrtha). At the latter date the king's younger brother was its governor. North from the above were the Changālvas, who filled a large space in the history of the country. Their later capital was at Nañjarājapattana, which still gives its name to the northern tāluq of Coorg. North from them, again, were the Kongālvas, who were established in the Yēlusāvira or Seven Thousand country by the Chōlas in 1004 (Cg 46), and who disappeared soon after the expulsion of the Chōlas from Mysore by the Hoysalas in 1116. Mullūr seems to have been an important place in their territory. In 1390 Mullūr-nād was given as a grant by the Vijayanagar king Harihara II to an officer named Gonka-Raddi-nāyaka, serving under his general Gundappa-dandanāyaka (Cg 39).

Firishta says that at the end of the 16th century Coorg proper was governed by its own chiefs, called Nāyaks, who admitted the supremacy of Vijayanagar. According to tradition the country was divided into twelve Kombus and thirty-five Nāds. The Changālvas fell

¹ For writing they employ the Kannada (or Kanarese) letters

² Kanakasabhai Pillai, in *The Tamils 1800 years ago*, p. 10.

before the Mysoreans in 1644, and the Coorg Rājas next established themselves as masters of the whole country, until it was annexed to British India in 1834. The close connection of the province with Mysore throughout the greater part of its history is made clear by these records, a connection which has been perpetuated to the present day in the arrangements for its administration by the British Government.

The earlier inscriptions show that the Jain faith was exclusively the State or court religion at first. Then followed the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava creeds, and lastly the Vīra-Śaiva or Lingāyit form of Śaivism. All this while the Coorgs no doubt, as now, kept to their own Ancestor and Demon worship. The former is one of the most widely extended in the world¹. No. 5, dated in 1000, possibly furnishes evidence of the antiquity of the Coorg houses. A Coorg *kadaṅga* is named in No. 2, even in 888.

KADAMBAS

The inscriptions which have now been discovered enable us to trace the history of Coorg as far back as early in the Christian era. But the puranic account of the foundation of the State and monarchy, given in the *Kāvērī-Māhātmya*, connects it with a prince named Chandravarmma, the son of a king of the Matsya country, who was succeeded by his son Dēvakānta. Now Matsya (Virāṭa's capital) has been identified with Hāngal in Dharwar (called Virāṭan-kōṭe), and there is ground for the conclusion that Chandravarmma was a Kadamba prince. The Kadambas were a line of independent kings ruling in the west of Mysore, in North and South Kanara, and other parts, between the 3rd and 6th centuries. They were Mysorean in origin, and are identified with Banavāsī as their capital. This is situated on the river Varadā, on the north-west frontier of Mysore, in North Kanara. It had the Brāhman name Jayanti or Vajayanti. Banavāsī was a very ancient city, being one of the places to which Buddhist missionaries are said to have been sent in the time of the Maurya emperor Aśoka, the 3rd century B.C.; and it is also mentioned by Ptolemy in the 2nd century A.D.

The origin and rise of the Kadambas is described in the fine old inscription on a pillar at Tālagunda in the Shikārpur tāluq of Mysore (Sk 176). According to this, a Brāhman student in the agrahāra of Sthānakundūr (Tālagunda) was the progenitor of the royal line. He went to the Pallava capital (Kāñchi, or Conjeeveram, near Madras) in order to complete his studies, but owing to a violent quarrel there with Pallava horsemen, he resolved, for the purpose of revenging the insults he had received as a Brāhman, to become a Kshattriya. Training himself in the use of arms, he escaped to the forests leading to Śrīparvata (Karnūl District), where he became so powerful, levying tribute from the great Bāna (or Bṛhad-Bāna) and other kings, that the Pallavas found it impossible to put him down. They therefore resolved to recognize him as a king, and installed him in a territory extending to the Western Ocean. He is known as Mayūravarmma. Of his successors, one of the most distinguished was Kākustha, whose daughters were given in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. The reference is probably to Samudra-Gupta, who made an expedition throughout the South, as recorded on the pillar at Allahabad. Another daughter was apparently given to the Ganga king of Mysore. The Kadambas were subdued by the Chālukyas from the North in the 6th century, but held subordinate positions for several centuries later. We

¹ See Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, vol. II, ch. 18, and Sir Monier Williams' *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p. 24.

know from inscriptions that Kadamba states existed in the 11th century in the country now called Manjarābād, in the north of Coorg; and in the 10th to the 12th century in Bayalnād, now called Wainād, to the south of Coorg; as well as in Hāngal and Goa.

Of the Kadambas of Manjarābād we have an inscription in Coorg itself (No 57), dated in 1095. It relates to a king named Duddharasa, and is a *vīra-sāsana* erected to his memory by his brother Jūjarasa. Duddha is described as a mahā-mandalésvara, lord of Tripura, sun to the Balindra-kula,¹ a pleasure-garden of the Malepas (or hill chiefs), his father's warrior (*ayyan-aṅkakāra*), and has other titles. He protected Maleya (Malabar), and was governing Samhatha-nād, Pākuvādi and other places, having 15 horses, 50 male servants, 250 strong men (*ekkatigaru*), 45 retainers of good family, and a retinue of many subjects, guards, relatives, and landholders. He was the son of Hittayarasa and Junjala-Dēvi. At the request of his wife Chukkala-Dēvi, he had a tank made. He also endowed Brāhmans, and formed rice-fields at the river. The inscription was apparently composed by Molate-Duddhamalla, his minister for peace and war, and written by the *sēnahōva's* son Bamma-dēva.

Of this Duddharasa we have a record in Mj 18, of the same year, when his son Dayasimha was on the throne. Here Duddha is styled a mahārāja, and is said to be the son of Chāgi-mahārāja, which must have been the titular name of his father. By his wife Mēchalarasi he had three sons—Sārthiga-nripa, Chāgi-mahārāja, and Dayasimha-nripa. The last is described as a crest-jewel of the Kadamba-vamśa, and lord of Banavāsi-pura. He slew an enemy named Śrīpāla, who had an immense army. His court resounded with the mingled notes of songs, drums, dances, flutes and guitars; he was a critical examiner of poems and dramas; and proficient in logic, grammar, painting, music and many others of the sixty-four branches of learning. Why have another Bhārata story (says the inscription); is not Dayasimha's history enough?² We also have a notice of Duddha in Sk 151, where Chāmuṇḍa-Rāyarasa, the governor of the Banavase Twelve Thousand under the Chālukyas in 1047, has, among other epithets, that of 'a grindstone to Duddha.'

If Duddha-mahārāja was preceded on the throne by his father Chāgi-mahārāja, as we must suppose was the case, they connect with the Kadamba king Nīti-mahārāja, of whom there is a series of seven inscriptions in Manjarābād. The dates range from 1026 (Mj 53) to about 1035 (Mj 55), the latter recording his death with the performance of the Jaina rite of *saṃnyasanam*. The inscriptions are very short and much effaced. In Mj 51 only *lole* remains of the name of his residence, and Mj 55 contained the name of his father, which is gone.

GANGAS

But the earliest of the inscriptions in Coorg show that this country formed part of the territory of the Gangas, a line of kings who ruled over Mysore from about the 2nd to the 11th century. Their kingdom was called Gangavādi, described as a Ninety-six Thousand country, and their capital, at first Kuvalāla or Kovalāla (Kolār), was removed in the 3rd century to Talakād on the Kāvērī, in the south-east of the Mysore District. The dynasty was founded by two Jain princes of the Ikshvāku (Solar) race, who came from the North, and were aided

¹ While he is here said to be of the Balindra-kula, his son, in the Manjarābād record of the same date, is said to be of the Kadamba-vamśa. But the Duddha in both must be the same person, as Coorg in this part and Manjarābād adjoin one another and are really one territory.

² The same question is asked (Hn 53) with reference to the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana—A Duddarasa is mentioned as associated with the Hoysala royal family in 1176 (Cg 33).

by the Jain *āchārya* Simhanandi,¹ whom they met at Pērūr, still distinguished as Ganga-Pērūr (in the Kadapa District). By name, the Gangas seem to be connected with the Gangaridæ or tribes of the Ganges valley who, according to Greek and Roman accounts of the times of Alexander the Great and Seleucus Nicator, were subjects of Chandra-Gupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty of Pataliputra (now Patna on the Ganges). Jain traditions represent him as ending his life at Śravana-Belgola in Mysore. The Gangaridæ are mentioned by Ptolemy, and the Latin authors Virgil, Valerius Flaccus, and Curtius also make reference to them. Pliny writes of the Gangaridæ Calingæ or Gangas of Kalinga (Orissa and neighbouring parts), where there was an important line of Ganga kings in the 7th and 8th centuries, and where Ganga kings ruled down to as late as the 16th century. But the Gangas of Mysore were the original line, and the Gangadikāras, who still form the largest section of the agricultural population of Mysore, represent their former subjects, this name being a contraction from Gangavādikāra.

Curiously enough, the first discovery of this important line of kings, who were the rulers of Mysore for nearly the whole of the first millennium of the Christian era, but whose very name had dropped into oblivion, was due to the copper plates (Cg 1) found in the treasury at Mercara.² As to when or by whom they were placed there no trace has been found, and they relate, not to any place in Coorg, but to one in Mysore. They were brought to the notice of Dr. Burgess by Mr. Graeter, and are now deposited in the Lutheran Mission Museum at Basle in Switzerland. Much controversy arose as to their date, the year 388 being given in the plates without mention of any era. By some they were accepted as one of the earliest unquestionable inscriptions discovered in India, whilst others imagined they might be forgeries. The full and abundant information that has since come to light in the inscriptions obtained by me from all parts of Mysore, some of which were published at the time in the *Indian Antiquary* or other works, and all of which appear in full in the volumes of my *Epigraphia Carnatica*, enables us to maintain the credibility of the Mercara plates. The date contained in them, as regards the year, is correct according to the Śaka era, nor is this belied by the palæography.³ The language of the main portion is Sanskrit, but the details of the grant are in Hala Kannada.

What the plates tell us is, that of a gift made by the Ganga king Kongani-mahādhrāja, named Avinīta, whose pedigree is given, to a Jain priest, whose spiritual descent is also given, in the year three hundred and eighty-eight (in words), with other details of the month, day, etc.,⁴ (but as usual at that early period with no name of the cyclic year), the minister

¹ He is named as a great poet by Indrabhūti in his *Samayabhūṣana*, along with Ēlāchārya (Padmanandi, the guru of Śākatāyana) and Pūjyapāda (*IA*, xi, 20), and in SB 54 is mentioned next to Samantabhadra, who belongs to the 2nd century.

² First deciphered by me and published in 1872 (*Ind. Ant.* i, 363; see also xii, 12).

³ Objections to this were raised by Dr. Fleet, who said (*EI*, iii, 162) 'it is definitely betrayed by a character which furnishes a leading test in dealing with southern records' and which he said could not appear earlier than 804. In this he was shown to be mistaken (*EC*, iv, Int. 6), and Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Pal.* §29, B2) remarked to the same effect. Dr. F's reply (*EI*, vi, 79) was: 'I concede that this instance adduced by Mr. Rice is to be referred probably to the 6th century A.D. But it has nothing to do with the matter that we have in hand. It is a Grantha character.' It was then pointed out (*EC*, vi, Int. 30) that even supposing it was Grantha, the letter was undoubtedly the same, as Tamil had no aspirated letters. Dr. Bühler also (*IA*, §31, A B6) refers it to the Kanarese-Telugu script.

⁴ Regarding a discrepancy in the week-day and *nakṣatra*, Dr. Bhandarkar says (*Ind. Ant.* i, 363) — Finding that Māgh śuddha 5th S. 388 fell on Wednesday, I submitted the question to Prof. Kuru Lakshman Chatre. He finds the day to fall on 'Wednesday, Budhavāra or Saumyavāra, nakṣatra Uttara-Bhādrapada',

(*mantri*) of Akālavarsha Prithuvī-Vallabha (a Rāshtrakūta king), having obtained from Avinīta-mahādhirāja by grant the village named Badaneguppe, situated in the Edenād Seventy of the Pūnāl Six Thousand, gave it, together with the rights pertaining to six included villages, to the Śrīvijaya Jina temple of Talavana-nagara (Talakād), along with certain other privileges and lands (adding considerably to the value of the donation)

The grant is thus ascribed to the time of Avinīta, and the date given, which is equivalent to 466 A.D., agrees with the history as we now know it, for Avinīta reigned from c. 430 to 482, this long reign being due to the fact, stated in many inscriptions, that he was crowned while an infant on his mother's lap.

But farther clear historical allusions in the plates require us to show that two other kings belonged to the same period, namely, Akālavarsha, undoubtedly a Rāshtrakūta, and Krishnavarmma, a Kadamba. Of these, the former may be recognized as follows to have been contemporary with Avinīta. For, as I was the first to point out, the *varsha* titles of the Rāshtrakūta kings were so constant that the title is a sufficient guide to the king's name. Akālavarsha is thus synonymous with a Krishna-Rāja.

Now it so happens that coins of a Krishna-Rāja have been found at Dēvalānā in the Nasik District and other parts of Bombay, which, as Professor Rapson says (*Indian Coins*, 27), have been attributed to a Rāshtrakūta king of this name, c. 375-400 A.D. But he considers this date too early for the style of the coins, which are imitated from the latest Gupta coins current in this locality. For the same reason, he says, it is impossible to place them as late as the better known Krishna-Rāja Rāshtrakūta, c. 750 A.D. Dr. Fleet suggested (DKD 296, 385) that they may be Kalachuri coins of Krishna-Rāja, the father of Śankaragana (apparently about 570 A.D.). But the Kalachuri coins have quite a different device. Accepting the coins, therefore, as Rāshtrakūta, 466 as a date for the Krishna-Rāja of whom we are in search seems to satisfy the required conditions and supply the wanted intermediate figure. Sir Walter Elliot says (*Coins of So. Ind.* 149) 'General Cunningham's ascription of these coins to Krishna-Rāja Rāshtrakūta is confirmed.'

As to the relations subsisting in this, the 5th century, between the Rāshtrakūtas and Gangas, and other contemporary powers, we have the following evidence. The Siragunda stone (Cm 50) says that Nirvvinīta's (*i.e.* Avinīta's) younger son was crowned with the Kongam diadem by Kāduvetṭi¹ (or the Pallava king) and the Vallava (Ballaha or Rāshtrakūta) king². This we may account for by the statement (in Bn 141, Ml 110, and DB 68) that Avinīta, acting on the advice of his own *guru*, had set aside Durvvinīta (from the succession) in favour of another son, but that Lakshmī (the goddess of sovereignty) of her own accord came and embraced his broad chest. Then, (in Nr 35) Durvvinīta is said to have captured Kāduvetṭi on the field of battle and placed his own daughter's son Jayasimha-Vallabha on his hereditary throne.

and considers that the engraver, being careless, has written Sōma for Saumya. Nakshatra Svāti never falls near 5th Māgh śuddha, but the astrologer consulted, he thinks, may have carelessly taken Māgh vadha, and given Svāti, which falls only a day in advance of the 5th for S 388. Dr. Kielhorn's calculations (*id.* xxiv, 11) give the same results.

¹ Kāduvetṭi or Kādava-Rāja is the common designation in Mysore inscriptions for the Pallava king. The former name survives in Kārvēti-nagara, in the North Arcot District.

² This rendering has been suggested by Mr Narasimhaachar (MAR, 1912), and he points out the interesting parallel occurrence, some centuries later, when the Ganga king Śivamāra-Saigotta, after his release from captivity, was crowned with their own hands by the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda Prabhūtavarsha and the Pallava king Nandivarmma, as related in Yd 60 and Nl 60. The proposed identification of Jayasimha is also due to him.

Now Jayasimha-Vallabha is the name given in the Aihole inscription (EI, vi, 1) as that of the Chālukya prince who, in the Yewūr, Kauthem and other grants (IA, xii, 12; xvi, 15), is said to have gained a footing for the Chalukyas by subduing a Rāshtrakūta king named Indra, the son of Krishna. If we may identify these two Jayasimhas as the same person, it follows that he had a Ganga mother and a Chalukya father. But it must be admitted that the Gangas (who were of the Solar race) nowhere claim such a connection with the Chalukyas (who were of the Lunar race), unless we are to understand the solitary statement (MAR, 1912) that Durvvinīta was of the Krishna-*kuḷa*¹ (and therefore Lunar race) as making such a claim at this particular period (perhaps through his mother). In any case, a Rāshtrakūta Krishna here also appears in contact with the Gangas at this time.

Putting together the various coincident items, the following appears to have been the state of affairs. The Ganga king Avinīta (whose mother was a Kadamba princess, the sister of Krishnavarmma) married the Punnād Rāja's daughter, and had by her his son Durvvinīta. This son he set aside (from the succession) in favour of another son (no doubt born of a different mother), and the latter obtained the Kongam (or Ganga) crown from (or with the support of) the Pallava and Rāshtrakūta kings. Nevertheless, Lakshmi (the goddess of sovereignty) came to Durvvinīta of her own accord, and he on his part entered into alliance with the Chalukya prince, giving him his daughter in marriage. The son born of this union was Jayasimha-Vallabha. Durvvinīta next seized Kādavottī (the Pallava king) on the field of battle and placed Jayasimha-Vallabha on his hereditary throne. And he in his turn made good the Chalukya supremacy for the time being by defeating the Rāshtrakūta, the son of Krishna, but was eventually, it appears, slain in an encounter with Trilōchana-Pallava.

It is clear, as Dr. Bühler remarked, that Rāshtrakūtas ruled in the Dekhan in the 3rd to the 5th centuries. And I may add that although no other evidence has yet come to light that the Krishna-Rāja Rāshtrakūta of that period was called Akālavarsha, the family custom was no doubt adhered to. This identification, if it could be accepted, Dr Fleet admitted, would of course be a strong argument in favour of the genuine antiquity of the Mercara plates.

As regards the Kadamba king Krishnavarmma, we are introduced in BI 121 to two so named in that family. The first was the great-grandfather of the second, the donor of the grant, which is dated only in the regnal year. The first Krishnavarmma is described as performer of the horse sacrifice, and as having married the daughter of Karkeya, by whom he had a son Vishnuvarmmā. The latter is the donor in Kd 162, which is also dated only in the regnal year. Here too his father is said to have performed the horse sacrifice, and besides to have had an elder brother Śāntivaravarmma. This is another form of the name Śāntivarmmā, who was the son of Kākustha according to the Tālagunda pillar (Sk 176, EI, viii, 24). Kākustha is there said to have given his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. This there can be no doubt, as previously said, refers to Samudra-Gupta, who is the only Gupta known to have made an expedition to the South, as recorded on the pillar at Allahabad. Now Samudra-Gupta belongs to the latter part of the 4th century. Kākustha's younger son Krishnavarmma may therefore be placed in the first part of the 5th century, and his sister could naturally be the mother of Avinīta, who was ruling from about 430.

¹ Here, of course, the god Krishna. See also a similar claim for the Changālvās, p. xiii

It has thus been shown that both Akālavarsha Rāshtrakūta and Kṛṣṇavarma Kādamba can be accounted for as belonging to the period of Avinīta Kongani, the Ganga king. The direct and unaffected way in which they are mentioned in the plates, without any boast or demonstration, bears on the face of it the aspect of truth, and cannot have been intended in any way to deceive or mislead. The plates are consequently so far justified as valid and reliable records.

The first Krishna or Kannara Akālavarsha of the Rāshtrakūta or Ratta line previously known to us occupied the throne in about 760 A D., and the earliest Rāshtrakūta inscriptions that have been found in Mysore are of the time of his son, Jagattunga Prabhūtavarsha Śrīvallaḥḥa, or Gōvinda II (Cl. 33, 34). This is the king mentioned by Jinasēna as then ruling in the South in his Jan *Harivamśa*, composed in 783.

Akālavarsha's minister, the donor of our grant under consideration, does not give us his own name, nor any other particulars regarding himself. He may therefore have retired from public service, and taken up his residence in the Mysore country, possibly at Talakād, the Ganga capital, where he made the grant. He may even have been a Mysorean, come back to end his days in his own country. Badaneguppe, the subject of the grant, still exists under the same name, and some of the other villages mentioned can be identified (see note to translation).

The plates were engraved by Viśvakarmma, which we know from other instances was a common official designation for the court engraver. It occurs as far back as the 3rd century as that of the engraver of the Kādamba grant on the Malavalli pillar (Sk 264), and the older Āndhra or Śātavāhana grant of Śātakarṇi which precedes it on the same pillar may also have been engraved by the same. Many of the Ganga grants on copper plates were engraved by a Viśvakarmma at various dates wide apart.

The Punnād Six Thousand was situated in the south-west of Mysore, adjoining Coorg, and is interesting on account of its antiquity. For it is the Punnāta to which the Jan immigrants from the north, under Bhadrabāhu, in the 4th century B.C., took their way when their leader remained behind at Śravana-Belgola (in the Hassan District) in expectation of his death, being waited on in his last moments by one single disciple, believed to be the distinguished Chandra-Gupta. Harishēna, in his *Bṛhalkathākōśa*, dated in 931, says that the whole Sangha went by the guru's direction to the Punnāta country, situated in the South.¹ It is further mentioned in the 2nd century A.D., by Ptolemy as Pounnata, 'where is beryl.' In the 5th century the Ganga king Avinīta married the Punnād Rāja's daughter, and the province thus came to be annexed to Gangavādī under their son Durvīmīta. Jinasēna, before mentioned, was of the Bṛhat-Punnāta-sangha. An inscription of the Punnād Rājas² gives Kithipura as their capital, which is identified (Hs 56) with Kittūr on the Kabbani river in the Heggadadevankōte tāluq.

It is strange that stone inscriptions of the time of Akālavarsha II, who ruled from 884 to 913, have been found in the Dēvanhalli tāluq (Dv 42, 43), relating to a local Punnād, a village circle which, in a neighbouring inscription of the 14th century (DB 38), is described as the Punnād Seventy. The correspondence in names is singular, but there is otherwise no apparent connection with the incidents in the Mercara plates.

The Ganga lineage, as first brought to our knowledge in these plates, begins with Kongani-mahādhirāja, whose son was Mādhava-mahādhirāja, whose son was Harivarma-

¹ *Sanghō'pi samastō guru-vākya'tah dakṣhiṇā-patha-dō'sastha-Punnāta-vṛhayaṃ yayau*

² *Ind. Ant.* xii, 13; xvi, 366.

mahādhīrāja, whose son was Vishnugōpa-mahādhīrāja, whose son was Mādhava-mahādhīrāja, whose son, by a princess who was the sister of the Kadamba king Krishnavarmma-mahādhīrāja (and probably a daughter of the Kadamba king Kākustha), was Kongani-mahādhīrāja, named Avinita. The descriptive epithets applied to each of these kings, though novel at the time the plates were first deciphered by me, are now familiar enough from their repetition in so many Ganga inscriptions that have since been obtained.

The next three inscriptions, in order of date, are also Ganga and Jam, but on stone,¹ as are all the rest. The date of the first is 809 Śaka (888 A.D.), the 18th year of the reign of Satyavākya-Kongunivarmma-dharmma-mahārājādhīrāja, lord of Kovalālapura, lord of Nandagiri (Nandidroog). The king, who is described as the Permmānadi, gave to a Jain priest, for the Satyavākya-Jina temple of the Penne-kadanga, the twelve hamlets of Biliūr in Peddoregare, or the bank of the Peddore or Beddore. This name, meaning the big river, is generally the designation of the river Kṛṣṇā in Kannada inscriptions, but here it means the Lakshmantīrtha, which is still called the Dodda-hole or big river in Coorg. Among the witnesses are named the officials of the Ninety-six Thousand, that is Gangavādi, and of the Beddoregare Seventy, the village circle aforesaid. Among the guardians or trustees we have those of the Male Thousand (the hill country), and the Five Hundred.² The grant was engraved by Sedōja.

The donor was the Ganga king Rājamalla or Rāchamalla Satyavākya II, who reigned from 870 to 907. His nephew Ereyappa was at one time governor of the Kongal-nād Eight Thousand (Hs 92), which, as will be seen farther on, may have included the Yēlusāvira or Seven Thousand country in the north of Coorg. The title Permmānadi or Permmānadi, also written Permmādi, was first assumed by the Ganga king Śrīpurusha, who reigned from 726 to 776, and is applied to all his successors. According to Nr 35 it previously belonged to the Pallavas, but on Śrīpurusha's crushing defeat of (the Pallava) Kāduvetti of Kañchī, he took away from him this title. After the Ganga power was overthrown in 1004, the Nolambas, who represented the Pallavas, resumed the title (Dg 71).

The mention of the Penne-kadanga is of considerable interest, as showing the antiquity of the *kadangas* or war trenches found in a great part of Coorg. They are carried over hills, woods and comparatively flat country for miles and miles, at some places branching off in various directions or encircling hill-tops. Some are nearly 40 feet from summit to bottom of ditch, and often taken along hill sides with an angle of 80° to the horizon. In the Mendalanād they show great regularity and are broad and deep, the lower side of the ditch facing the open country, but in Kiggat-nād they are of smaller dimensions. There is no doubt that they were war trenches, and may have served as covered ways, but it is more than probable that at the same time they formed, at least to some extent, also the boundaries between the different nāds. Similar earthworks were constructed by the ancient Britons. Mr Wilkins, in an article³ headed "Were the Ancient Britons savages?" says—"They are extremely difficult of access from the steepness of the mountain heights on which they were formed. Thus difficulty the primitive engineer greatly increased by the most simple and natural means. He sunk one or more deep trenches round the summit of the hill and raised lofty banks with the excavated

¹ The versions of these published by the Rev. F Kittel in *Ind Ant.* vi, 99 ff are not trustworthy, as they contain many errors (see xiv, 76).

² The Five Hundred, here and in No 4, may be the Five Hundred *Soṃas* of Āryyāvāle or Ayyāvāle (now Aihole, in the Bijapur District), regarded as the heads of the *vīra-Bananju-dharma*, or merchant class

³ *Fortnightly Review*, April 1875

soil Undoubtedly this is the most ancient species of rampart known, it existed ages before the use of mural fortifications, and originated in all probability with the nations of the east.'

Then follows No 3, which is of the time of the same king, but undated. It records the binding on of the *Permmāli-patta* (by euphony *vatta*) on the son of a *gāvuṇḍa* or farmer, and the fixing of the land rent and rice dues in permanence for the estate or *kahnād* granted him. The inscription was engraved by Sōmayya. The *patta* was a golden band or ribbon to be worn on the forehead, inscribed with some title of honour, in this case that of the king. It was a symbol of royalty, but also conferred as a mark of royal favour. *Kahnād* was the term generally applied to the portion of land granted for public services, or to the family of a man who fell in war.

Here intervene three fragmentary Ganga inscriptions, Nos. 60, 74 and 28. The first, which is without date, records the grant of a village to apparently Ereyarasa for an agrahāra, and also a grant by a man who, with other names, bore that of Konganivarmmā. It may belong to about 900 A.D. The second, also without date, records the death of one of Ereyapa's followers. The third is dated in Śaka 866 (944 A.D.). It is a memorial of self-sacrifice, such as are recorded in several instances during the Ganga and later periods. A man named Būchaga had himself beheaded in fulfilment of a vow, and his mother set up this monument to him. These vows of self-immolation were taken with the object of securing the accomplishment of some cherished desire. Thus, Sb 479 informs us of a man who, in about 991, gave up his head to a goddess at Hayve in order that the king Śāntivarmmā might have a son. In 1050 a servant had his head cut off in order to die with the king Pompala (Ct 31). In 1123 a cowherd vowed his head to swing before the god at Koṇḍasa-bhāvi if the king should have a son (Sk 246). Other instances are mentioned in my *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, ch. iv. The mode in which these decapitations took place was as follows, as represented in sculptured stones. The votary was seated with his back to a tall elastic rod fixed in the ground behind. This was forcibly bent down over the head of the victim and made fast by a hook to the top-knot of hair. On being severed from the body, the head flew up, carried with the rebound of the rod released from its tension.

No. 4 is another Ganga inscription, dated in Śaka 899 (978 A.D.). It is also of the time of a Satyavākya-Kongunivarmma-dharmma-mahārājādhirāja, lord of Kōlālapura, lord of Nandagiri, whose name was Rāchamalla-Permmānadi. But this was Satyavākya IV, and his younger brother Rakkasa, who, along with other epithets, has that of *annana-banla* (elder brother's warrior), was governor of Beddoregare (see No. 2 above). A Jain priest, whose spiritual descent is given, a resident of Śrī-Belgola (Śravana-Belgola) acquired possession of Perggadūr (Peggūr where the inscription is), and the *posa-vādaga* or new trench, secure against obstruction. The witnesses include the officials of the Ninety-six Thousand and of the Peddoregare Seventy. Among the guardians or trustees are the four Malepas or hill chiefs, and the Five hundred¹. The grant is apparently described as Śrīpurusha-mahārāja's gift². If this be correct, the king must have reverted to the use of an ancestral popular name. It was engraved by Chandanandiayya, and is called the *śāsana* of the *basadi* (or Jain temple) of Perggadūr

¹ See note, p. 8

² This name has come up in the most recent impression, and is well known as that of a Ganga king who ruled 726 to 776 A.D., but has not been hitherto met with subsequent to that period. In the impression in my first edition and in that given in *Ind. Ant.* vi, 102, it is clearly Śrīpurada mahārāja, the mahārāja of Śrīpura, perhaps the Srivur mentioned in No. 65. A very slight change is required to turn *Śrīpurada* into *Śrīpurusha*.

The date of this inscription requires some explanation. It is given as the *Nandīśvara-talpa-devasam* of *Phālguna-sukla-paksha*. According to information from a Jain source, it appears that Nandīśvara is the name of an island in the Jain cosmography, the eighth from Jambu-dvīpa. A plan of it on stone or brass is kept in many Jina temples, and a Nandīśvara temple in conformity with the plan has, it is said, been lately erected by the Jains in Delhi. From the 8th of the bright fortnight in the months Āshādhā, Kārtika and Phālguna, till full moon, is the time of the Nandīśvara-pūjā, or observance of the season when certain deified beings—Saudharmendra, Īśānendra, Chāmara and Vairōchana—assemble for worship at the island of Nandīśvara, which has fifty-two Jina temples on it. These are also the approved times for the commencement of any religious vows. The authorities for these statements may be found in *Tritōkasūtra* and in *Nandīśvara-bhakti*. The date of our inscription must therefore be taken as Phālguna śukla 8, the beginning of the Nandīśvara days in that month.

The title of *ammana-banta* given to the prince Rakkasa is also used with regard to him in SB 60. In Sp 59 we have an inscription of the same Rakkasa-Ganga Rāchamalla when on the throne, on which he succeeded his elder brother. He was the patron of the Kannada poet Nāgavarmma, the first of that name, author of the *Chhandāmbudhi*, who, in the introduction of his work, has verses relating to himself, beginning *arasam Rakkasa-Gangam*, found in the several palm leaf copies.¹

The term *vādaga* is used in mentioning the new trench, instead of *kadanga*, but it refers to the same thing. From this inscription and No. 10 it is evident that a close connection existed between the Jains of Coorg and those of Śravana-Belgola in Mysore. The four Malepas or hill chiefs were no doubt at the head of the Male Thousand mentioned in No. 2. The Hoysala kings have the title Maleparol-ganda or Malaparol-ganda, meaning champion among the Malepas, but who in particular are intended does not appear. With regard to Śrīpura, this is the name of a place where a Jain temple is stated to have been erected in the Dēvarhalli plates (Ng 85). It also occurs in the Hosūr plates (Gb 47). From the latter it may be conjectured that it was near Gūdalūr, which is at the western foot of the Nilgris on the Wynaad boundary. But this is uncertain. A Śrīvūr is mentioned in No. 65, which would be in Coorg.

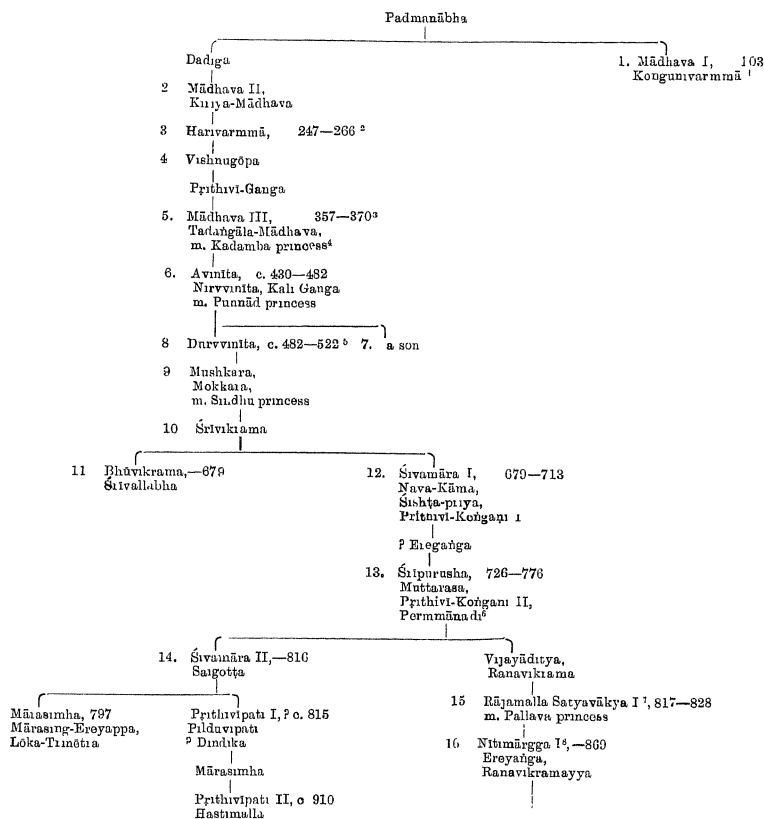
The next inscription (No. 5) is dated in Śaka 921 (1000 A.D.) and is of the time of the last Ganga king, though no mention is made of any king. It refers to a man who had served his time with Kunindora, which may be the name of one of the Coorg houses, and thus furnish evidence of their antiquity. He then set up for himself, and to expiate any guilt in taking forcible possession of certain places (named), bathed in the stream, and worshipping Rāmēśvara, made a grant of land for *dharma* or charity.

As the Ganga inscriptions in Coorg end here, it may be useful for reference to give a table of the whole of the kings, based on the information that has now been obtained from a host of inscriptions in Mysore and surrounding countries, the Mercara plates (No. 1) having been the first that brought the dynasty to light. Further particulars will be found in my work *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, published by Constable & Co., London, in 1909.

Of the Ikshvāku or Solai race, was Dhanañjaya

Harsachandra, king of Ayōdhya

¹ For reasons unknown the Rev. F. Kittel has omitted these in his edition called *Nāgavarma's Canarese Prosody*, published at Mangalore in 1875, but refers to them in his Kannada-English Dictionary, under *Ganga* and *Ayitasāna*.



¹ This name is applied to all the kings to the end. The Tamil chronicle *Kongudēsa-rājakkal* says that he was ruling in 189 and reigned for 51 years.

² In the same Tamil chronicle 288 is given as a date in his reign.

³ In addition to the grants of his reign mentioned in my *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, one has since been discovered at Melokōle in the Tumkūr tāluq, which is unique in being made to a Buddhist (MAR 1910). From the mention of the Avaniya-nadi among the boundaries, the site of the grant seems to have been in the neighbourhood of the old religious centre named Avani, in the Mulbāgal tāluq of the Kolar district. Unfortunately one plate is missing, which may have contained the date.

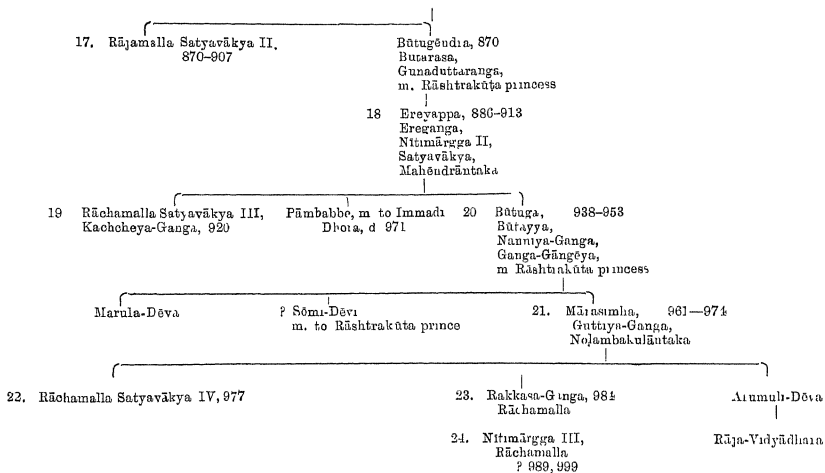
⁴ At this point, between Mādhava III and Avinita, the Tamil chronicle inserts a Dindikara-Rāja or Hariśchandra, who ruled for only a short time. An inscription containing the name of Dindika-Rāja has lately been discovered at Śravana-Belgola, engraved in characters like those of the Bhadrabāhu inscription SB 1 (MAR 1909).

⁵ More recently a grant of his 40th year has been obtained, at Gummareddipura, Śrinivāspur tāluq (MAR. 1912), which contains fresh information of importance. It states that he was himself the author of a *Saddāvatāra*, and of a version in Sanskrit of the *Valḷakathā*, which, from the corresponding passage in Tm 23, apparently means the *Bṛhatkathā*.

⁶ This title is used of all the subsequent kings, often alone, without any name.

¹ These names are used as titles by all the kings that come after.

² This name is used as a title by the kings that follow.



CHŌLAS

The Ganga sovereignty was overthrown by the Chōlas, an ancient line of kings in the Tamil country, and they became the dominant power in the south and east of Mysore and in Coorg for a little more than a hundred years. Their early capital was Oreyūr (Warrior, near Trichinopoly). But the one with which they are chiefly identified is Tanjore, and they also took the capital city Kāñchī from the Pallavas. In the course of the campaigns in which they subjected the Pallavas and the Eastern Chālukyas, the latter of whom were aided by the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Chōla king Parāntaka had in 921 uprooted the Bānas, who ruled in the east of Mysore and claimed to be friends of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna II. He then conferred the title of Bānādhirāja on the Ganga prince Prithivīpati, giving him the name Hastimalla. But the Gangas being closely allied by intermarriages with the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Ganga king Būtuga in 949 slew, at Takkolam (near Arkōnam), the Chōla king Rājāditya, who was at war with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna III. The latter, who was Būtuga's brother-in-law, rewarded him with the Banavase Twelve Thousand (the Shimoga District), and claims to have captured Kāñchī and Tanjore. In 997 the Chōla king Rājarāja had gained a footing in the east of Mysore (Ht 111). But in 1001 his son Rājendra-Chōla, who was in command of the Chōla army, succeeded in capturing Talakād, the Ganga capital, and brought the Ganga power to an end. The conquest of all the south and east of Mysore, in an arc extending from Arkalgūd in the west, through Seringapatam, and north by Nelamangala to Nidugal, was speedily effected, and Rājendra-Chōla gained the title Gangaikonda-Chōla.¹

In their operations westwards the Chōlas were opposed by the Changālvās, who were ruling in the Hunsūr tāluq of Mysore and in Coorg. But these were defeated in a decisive battle at Panasoge or Hanasoge on the Kāvērī, and the Changālvās thus came under the

¹ There is a belief, I am informed by Mr Krishna Sastri, that he obtained it through subduing various kings up to the Gangas and compelling them to bring the sacred water of the river to pour into the tank he had made at his capital Gangaikondachōlapuram.

domination of the Chōlas. The victory over them was due to a warrior named Maniṇa under the general Panchavan-mahārāya. He was rewarded by the Chōla king Rājārāja with the title of Kshattriya-śikhāmanī Kongālva (Og 46) and granted an estate at Mālavvi (now Mālambi). The Kongālva territory extended over the Arkalgūd tāluq of Mysore and the Yēlusāvira country in the north of Coorg. Both the Changālva and Kongālva kings from this time have Chōla prenomens, denoting their subordination, and the Chōlas in the list of their conquests include Kuda-malaiṇād, which indicates the Coorg hill country, Kudāgu or Kodagu-malenād, as expressly stated in TN 122.

CHANGĀLVAS

The Changālvas or Changāluvas are a line of kings of much interest, having ruled in the west of Mysore and in Coorg from the 10th to the 17th century. Their original territory was Changa-nād (Hs 97), corresponding chiefly with the Hunsūr tāluq. They claim to be Yādavas and of the Lunar race (Hs 63, Yd 26), descended from a king named Changālva, who was in Dvāravātī, and having defeated Bijjala, seized his titles. This Changālva cannot be traced, and there is nothing to show what Bijjala is meant. The kings are generally styled *mahā-manḍalika manḍalēśvara* or *mahā-manḍalēśvara*. They were originally Jains, and are first met with in connection with Panasoge or Hanasoge, on the south of the Kāvērī in the north-west of the Yedatore tāluq, where there are many ruined *basadis*. These, according to Yd 26, were set up by Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, the elder brother of Lakshmana, and husband of Sītā. The Jain priests of the Hottage (or Pustaka)-gachchha claim exclusive jurisdiction over *basadis* at Panasoge and at Tale-Kāvērī in Coorg, which may perhaps have been the limits of the Changālva kingdom east and west.

One of the *basadis* or Jain temples at Panasoge set up by Rāma was endowed by the Ganga king Mārasimha, who reigned from 961 to 974, and was rebuilt by Nanni-Changālva (Yd 25). He is the first Changālva of whom we have any certain knowledge, and as he had the prefix Rājendra-Chōla before his name he belongs to the beginning of the 11th century. But as their kingdom was subdued by the Chōlas at the time when the Ganga power was overthrown in 1001, the Changālvas must have been an established line of kings prior to that. Their inscriptions are found mostly in the Hunsūr and Yedatore tāluqs and in Coorg.

The subjugation of the Changālvas by the Chōlas seems to have resulted from their defeat at Panasoge by the Chōla general Panchavan-mahārāya (Og 46); and the subsequent kings for more than a century bore Chōla prenomens. When the Chōlas were expelled from Mysore by the Hoysalas in 1116, the Changālvas strove to maintain independence. But they were compelled in the end to submit to the Hoysalas. And when the Hoysala power was overthrown in the 14th century by Moslems from the North, the Changālvas passed under the dominion of the new Vijayanagar empire then established. At length they were conquered in 1644 by one of the Mysore kings,—these having risen to power after the fall of Vijayanagar,—and their dynasty was thus brought to an end.

It is difficult to draw up a consecutive table of the kings, as they are mostly mentioned only as Changālvas, without any individual names, down to the end of the 13th century. Nanni had the prenomens Rājendra-Chōla, but his successors generally had that of Kulōttunga-Chōla, and when the Chōlas disappeared from Mysore, seem to have used only Kulōttunga, without the Chōla. They had some time before this embraced the new Lingāyit religion and were devoted Śaivas. Their family god was now Mallikārjuna, whose temple was on the Bettadpur hill in the Hunsūr tāluq, and this they named Śrīgiri, no doubt after the famous Śaiva sacred hill Śrīparvata in the Karnūl District.

The following are some of the names that are met with in the earlier period, with their dates, and references to the inscriptions in which they occur :—

Nanni-Changālva	1031 (Yd 37), 1037 (Hg 104)
” ”	c. 1060 (Yd 25, 26)
Mādēva	1090 (Ag 65)
Odeyātya	1097 (Hs 57)
Annadāni	1106 (Cg 51)
Mahadēva	1174 (Hs 20)
Pemma-Vīrappa	1175 (”)
Sōma-Dēva, Boppa-Dēva	1245-52 (Ag 53)
Malli-Dēva	1280 (Bl 89)
Malli-Dēva, Harihara-Dēva	c. 1280 (Cg 54, 55)
” ”	? 1296 (Cg 45)
Harihara-Dēva	1297 (Cg 59)

The inscriptions of 1034 and 1037 do not mention the name Nanni, but they no doubt belong to him, as in the latter, Panchavan-mārāya, the victor over the Changālvas, is said to have then bound *pattis*, or badges of honour, on certain *gūṛunūlas*. Mādēva has various epithets applied to him. Besides being entitled to the *pañcha-mahā-śūbala*, he is styled Nigalanka-malla. He may be the Tribhuvanamalla of Cg 61. But the Changālvas were apparently lifting their heads too high. So, in about 1104, the Hoysala king Ballāla I led an expedition against Changālva (Hn 162). In 1106 Annadāni is mentioned (Cg 51), but shorn of titles. He is not said to be a Changālva, but as their family god was called Annadāni-Mallikārjuna, he was very likely one, who built the temple for it. In ? 1121 we find Changālva helping the hill chiefs against the Hoysala army (Bl 178). But in 1130 Vishnuvardhana is described as a submarine fire to the ocean the Changālva king (Cm 137), and in 1139 the Changālva *purāṇika* had to apply to the Hoysala king for confirmation of a grant (Cn 199). In 1145 Nārasimha I is said to have slain Changālva in battle, and seized his elephants, horses, gold and new jewels (Ng 76). In 1155 Nārasimha's general Chōkimayya brought the Changa king's territory into subjection to his sovereign (Hn 69). An inscription of 1169 says of Gōvi-dēva, the younger brother of Bitta-dēva, the chief of Huliya under Nārasimha, that the wounds he inflicted with his spear on the face of the elephant on which the Changālva king was seated resembled the characters of an inscription recording his own valour. In 1171 Sōvi-dēva, the Kadamba governor of Banavase, took Changālva prisoner and put him into irons, as he had vowed he would (Sb 345). When Nārasimha's son, the prince Ballāla, made a tour through the hill countries in the west, Changālva is named as one of the kings who was compelled to do homage to him (Bl 86). But after Ballāla had come to the throne, he had to send an expedition in 1174 under his general Bettarasa against the Changālva king Mahadēva, who had retired to Coorg and fortified himself at Pālpāre in Kiggatnād. Bettarasa marched there, and having destroyed him, made Pālpāre the seat of his own government. But the Changālva Pemma-Vīrappa, perhaps Mahadēva's son, afterwards attacked him at Pālpāre, aided by Bādaganda Nandi-dēva, Udeyāditya-dēva of Kuruche, and others 'the Kodagas of all the nāds'. Bettarasa was near being altogether worsted, but secured the victory through the devotion and bravery of one of his officers (Hs 20). This is the first express mention of the Kodagas that has been met with in inscriptions. The Changālvas seem after this reverse to have submitted to the Hoysalas. For in 1175 we have grants made in Coorg by Ballāla II (Cg 65, 70).

In apparently about 1280 there is mention (Cg 27) of a Changālva in connection with a Munivarāditya, who seems to have been ruling in ? 1264 (Cg 75). A chief of this name is said (Cn 203) to have presented in 1223 an emerald to the Hoysala king Nārasimha II, who, no doubt on account of its being of unique size and value, added it to his necklace and celebrated the event by a feast in Chūdavādi (the Chūdagrāma or Mudriyānūr in Mulbāgal tāluq—see Mb 157), where he was at the time encamped during his campaign against Magara. This Munivarāditya must be a different person from the one in the present inscriptions, as the title in the other seems to have belonged to a chief of Mēlai (or western)-Mārāyapādi (in the Kadapa District) in 1124 (Ct 162); whereas the present Munivarāditya may more probably be connected with the Mulivarāditya-nād or Munivarāditya-nād mentioned in No. 45 in 1296, which was evidently in Coorg, and probably to the east of Merkara.

This last inscription was written by the *śēnabōva* of Kopana-tīrtha, which is a place deserving of notice. It is in all probability the Kopal or Koppal, situated in Raichūr District, in the south-west of the Nizam's Dominions. It was a great sacred place or *tīrtha* of the Jains, and is mentioned in the 9th century by the Rāshtrakūta king Nripatunga in his *Kavīrājamārgga* as one of the four cities in which the pith of the Kannada language was spoken. It is no doubt the Koppam where a sanguinary battle took place in 1052 between the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas. The Chōla king Rājādhirāja was slain, but his brother Rājendra-Dēva took command and succeeded in putting to flight the Chālukya king Āhavanalla. Koppam in this connection is described as a *tīrtha* on the Pērār or big river, a designation generally applied to the Kṛṣṇā, but here apparently referring to the Tungabhadra. In 1113 Ganga-Rāja, the victorious general of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvarddhana, is said (SB 17), by his restoration of ruined Jina temples throughout Gangavādi, to have made it shine like Kopana. In modern times its hill fort was occupied by Tipu Sultān in 1786, and rebuilt by him with the assistance of his French engineers. Sir John Malcolm pronounced it the strongest fort he had seen in India. It is now the chief place in the *jāgīr* of the first Sir Sālār Jung, the eminent Haidarābād minister.

In 1252, the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara, who had taken up his residence at Kannanūr or Vikramapura, near Śrīrangam and Trichinopoly, in the Chōla country which he had subdued, on the death there of his Tamil wife, resolved to revisit the capital Dōrasamudra (Halebid in the Hassan District). Sōma-Dēva and Boppa-Dēva, the two Changālvas who were jointly ruling then, came to receive him at Rāmanāthpur, which they had rebuilt in 1245 (Ag 53). This was probably the boundary of their kingdom, and the place where the king had to ford the river Kāvēri, as perhaps the epic hero Rāma had done in older times. From the same inscription we learn that the Changālva capital since 1245 had been at Śrīrangapattana. This does not mean Seringapatam in Mysore, but the place called Kodagu-Śrīrangapattana (see Cg 25), which is in Coorg, south of the Kāvēri near Siddapur. Malli-Dēva and his son Harihara-Dēva are mentioned in 1280 and 1291 (Bl 89, Cg 54, 55, 59). Subsequently, during the 14th century, when the Muhammadan invasions from Delhi took place, and the Hoysalas and other southern powers were swept away, we meet with no Changālvas. Nos. 67 of ?1360 and 58 of ?1380 are doubtful.

But in the 15th century the Changālvas again appear, and soon made their capital at Nanjarājapattana or Nanjarāyapatāna, of which place they henceforward call themselves the Rājas. It still gives its name to the northern tāluq of Coorg, and is situated in Coorg, north of the Kāvēri where it turns north and becomes the common boundary of Coorg and Mysore. The following is a list of the kings in this later period. Hs 63 gives the genealogy to 1502,

and Hs 24 to 1567. Mangarasa, in his *Jayamīpa-kāvya*, written in about 1509, says that his father was descended from the minister of the Changālva kings, and that the latter derived their origin from Krishna, that is, were Yādavas.

Nāga	
Ranga	
Priya, Piryana	
Nanja-Rāja ¹	1502-33
Nanjunda-Rāja	
Śrīkantha-Rājaiya, Śrīkantharasu	1541
Vīra-Rāja-Vodeyar	1559-80
Priya-Rājaiya-Dēva, Rudragana	1586-1607
Nanjunda-Dēva	
Nanja-Rājaiya-Dēva	1612-19
Krishna-Rājaiya-Dēva	1617
Vīra-Rājaiya	1619-44

Nanja-Rāja was the founder of Nanjarājapattana or Nanjarāyapattana, the new capital, which was named after him. Śrīkantha-Rāja seems to have been an important person, and in one case (Hs 24) is given supreme titles. This was in 1567, in his son's time. But from Hs 25 it would appear that in 1544 he was indebted to Aṭṭhalēśvara-arasu of Nandiyāla for the grant of a palanquin, and in No. 10 of that year is not mentioned at all. Priya-Rāja rebuilt Singapattana and changed its name to Piriya-pattana (the Pernapatam of English histories), naming it after himself (Hs 15). This seems to have been a secondary capital.

All these kings were subordinate to Vijayanagar, which was represented by a Viceroy at Seringapatam in Mysore. By Priya-Rāja's time Vijayanagar had fallen. But there still remained a viceroy at Seringapatam, named Tirumala-Rāja, who was aged and infirm, and whose authority was waning. In 1607 he is said (Hs 36) to have made a grant of the Malalavādi country (in Hunsūr tāluq) to Rudragana "in order that the worship of the god Annadāni-Malhkārjuna should not fail as long as the Nanjarāyapattana kings of the Changālva family continued." But Piriya-pattana was taken by the Mysore army in 1614, in the reign of Kanthīrava-Narasa-Rāja, and Vīra-Rājaiya fell in its defence, after putting to death his wives and children on seeing that his situation was desperate. This was the end of the Changālvas, who had held the throne for 600 years or more. The Mysoreans seem not to have followed up this victory into Coorg, but contented themselves with placing garrisons in Piriya-pattana and Bettadpur. The Kodagas may have attempted later to retake Piriya-pattana or Pernapatam, as they are specially named in 1722 (Sr 64) among the assailants from various quarters who were defeated by the Mysore king Chikka-Dēva-Rāja.

KONGĀLVAS

The discovery of the Kongālva line of kings is of as much interest for the history of Coorg as that of the Changālvas. The origin of the Kongālvas is related in Cg 46. The great Chōla king, the friend of the virgin daughter of Kāvēra (that is, the river Kāvērī), Rājākēśarīvarmma-Perummanadigal, that is Rājarāja, on hearing that Manija had fought in the battle of Panasoge until the enemy (evidently the Changālvas) were overcome and slain, resolved to reward him with a *patta*, or diadem, and gave him a nād. He sent orders

¹ His younger brother Mahadēva is mentioned in Hs 63 and SB 103

accordingly to his general Pañchavan-mahārāya, who bound on him a *paṭṭa* bearing the title *Kṣhatṛīya-sikhāmani-Kongalva* and gave him Mālavve (now Mālamḥi in Coorg). This was in 1004.

The Kongālvās ruled over a territory including the Arkalgūd tāluq of Mysore and the Yēlusāvira or Seven Thousand country in the north of Coorg. It no doubt corresponded more or less with the Kongal-nād Eight Thousand, of which the Ganga prince Ereyappa is said (Hs 92) to have been the governor in about 880. The Kongālvās were Jains, and had Chōla prefixes to their names. Their titles, as given in Ag 99, were the following:—entitled to the *pañcha-mahā-sabḍa*, mahā-mandalēśvara, chief lord of the city of Oreyūr (the early Chōla capital near Trichinopoly), sun upon the eastern mountain the Chōla-kula with twisted top-knot, crest-jewel of the Sūryya-vamśa (or Solar race). They thus claim to be Chōlas.

But Pañchavan-mahārāya seems to be a recognized Pāndya designation. He may perhaps be the Pañchavan-Brahmadirāja to whom the Chōla king Rājārāja granted Tagadūr, said to be Dharmapuri in the Salem District.¹ But there is also a Tagadūr in Mysore, in the Nanjangūd tāluq, which is described as *hīriya-nādu* and *anādi-mahā-nādu*². Of Pañchavan-mahārāya we have a farther account in an inscription at Balmuri (Sr 140), dated in 1012. He is there described as a bee at the lotus feet of Rājārāja, who invested him with the rank of mahā-dandanāyaka for Beṅgi-mandala (the Eastern-Chālukya territory) and Ganga-mandala (the Ganga territory in Mysore). He then claims to have led an expedition throughout the western coast region, in the course of which he seized Tuluva (South Kanara), and Konkana (North Kanara), held Malaya (Malabar), and put to flight Chēramma (the king of Cochín or Travancore), after which he pushed aside Teluga and Raṭṭiga (countries to the north of Mysore), and coveted even the little Belvola country (in Dharwar and Belgaum Districts). He is called Rājendra-Chōla in Sr 125. He appears again in 1037, conferring *pattas* or badges of honour on various gāvundas or farmers (Hg 104). After Rājendra-Chōla in 1022 had attacked the Poysala king Nripa-Kāma (Mj 43), Rājendra-Chōla-Kongālvā also attacked him in 1026, when he claims to have gained a victory at Manni (Ag 76).

His son was Rājādhirāja-Kongālvā (Cg 38), who, and his mother Pōchabbarasi, had as their *guru* Gunasēna-pandita³, who was the disciple of Pushpasēna-siddhānta-dēva (Cg 35, 37, 38, 41). Gunasēna had the Nāga well dug at Mullūr in about 1050 (Cg 42), and died in 1064 (Cg 34). Of the same period are the following:—Cg 56, recording the death in ? 1044 of Prabhāchandra-dēva, the disciple of Śubhachandra-dēva; and Cg 31, stating that Jakkiyabbe, the wife of Edayya, resolved to obtain *mukṭi* by the performance of *sannyasanam* and expired in about 1050. There is also a notice in Cg 39 that Rājādhirāja-Kongālvā had set up and endowed a temple in memory of his mother Pōchabbarasi, through the agency of Rugmini-Dēvi's queen's body-guard, which was at a later period restored, in 1390, when the Vijayanagar king Vira-Harihara, having read the deed making the grant, resolved to carry it on and granted Mullūr-nād to Gonka-Ṛaddi-nāyaka, whose bravery had been noted by (the commander) Gundappa-dandanāyaka.

In 1058 a Rājendra-Kongālvā appears (Cg 35), presumably Rājādhirāja-Kongālvā's son. He was apparently succeeded by the king whose name was Adatarāditya, with the titles

¹ Mad. No 204 of 1909.

² Nj 117, 115

³ He was of the Dravila-gana (Nos. 34, 35, 36) or Tivula-gana (Nos. 37)—both names meaning Tamil. In Kannada they take the form Dravida and Tigula.

Rājendra-Prithuvī-Kongālva and Tribhuvanamalla-Chōla Kongālva. His dates run from 1066 to 1100, and he seems to have been a powerful ruler. One of his inscriptions (Ag 99) was composed by the minister for peace and war, named Nakulāryya, who boasts of being able to write in four languages. Which these were is not stated, but Nakulāryya is a form of the name Lakula, that of a famous Śaiva teacher, the original of whom seems to have lived very early in the Christian era.¹ Cg 44 is a memorial of Uttama-Chōla-Sethi, who, in about 1080, appears to have taken his life by cutting off his head, no doubt in accordance with some vow of self-sacrifice.

A Vīra-Chōla-Kongālva is the last of whom we have a record. In an inscription of P 1176 (Cg 83) he made—in the presence of the queen mother Padmala-Dēvi, Sōmala-Dēvi and others,—a grant of the customs-dues of the Mullūr-nād Seventy, the country around Mullūr, near Śanivārsante. Padmala-Dēvi was the queen of the Hoysala king Vīra-Ballāla II and mother of the next king Nārasimha II. Sōmala-Dēvi was her daughter, a princess noted for her beauty and virtue. The Kongālvas seem thus to have been recognized by the Hoysalas, and Kongālva is mentioned along with Changālva in Śl 86 as coming to do homage to Ballāla. But they did not long survive the Chōla ascendancy in Coorg and the south of Mysore. In 1296 the Changālvas were evidently (Cg 45) in possession of Mullūr. But Cg 39 shows that in 1390 a Jain priest restored a temple formerly set up there by the Kongālva king and recovered the endowments, which it is believed are continued even now. Meanwhile at that same date, the Vijayanagar king Harihara II made the grant of Mullūr-nād, as above mentioned, to Gonka-Raddi-nāyaka, through his general Gundappa-dandaṇāyaka. The exploits of this Gundā-dandanātha are extensively praised in Bl 3.

HOYSALAS

The struggles of the Changālvas against the Hoysalas, and the establishment of the supremacy of the latter, have been described above. But the only inscriptions of the Hoysalas in Coorg itself, directly attributed to them, are Nos. 65 and 70, 6 and 7. The first two are of the time of Ballāla II, dated in 1175; the other two of the time of Nārasimha III, dated in 1255 and 1285. They are all in the north. No. 65 is at Siraha in the Bilaha hōbli (called in the inscription Biluhu-nād), and records a grant for the god Mallikārjuna of Srivūr. No. 70 is at Heggadahalli in the Kanime hōbli, and the subject of it is effaced. Nos. 6 and 7 are at Niduta on the north-eastern frontier, and are *biragal* or *viragal*, memorials to warriors slain in battle. The village of Kahigōd mentioned in them is now *bēchirākh*, or deserted, and is situated in the Arkalgūd tāluq of the Hassan District of Mysore, on the opposite side of the Kāvērī to Krishnarājkatte. There are several similar memorial stones there, of the same period and relating to the same persons (Ag 37 to 40). These and the records of the preceding paragraph above show that the Hoysala king and members of the royal family were at this time in the north of Coorg, in consequence perhaps of the decisive defeat of the Changālvas in the battle of Pāpare.

There is one inscription (Cg 40), dated in 1216, which belongs to the Hoysala period, but the name of the only king mentioned in it is effaced. All that can be read is Immadi-A... Rāya. Who this may have been it is impossible to say. Immadi means 'the second'. There was an Anadāni apparently among the Changālvas, but no other name of a king at about that time in any line begins with A. From the inscription being at Mullūr, and evidently Jain, one would be disposed to class it as Kongālva, and there was a king in that line named Adatarāditya. But there is no reason to suppose that the Kongālvas continued till then.

¹ See *JLAS* for 1907, p. 419.

The inscription records the death of a Vidyādhara Būchidēvarasa, who is described as Immadi-A. . Rāya's *katakāchārya*, or as we might say, 'army chaplain'. He was the Jain priest to the camp or capital, but what were his functions does not appear. Kēśirāja, the author of the standard Kannada grammar named *Śabdamanī-darpana*, in like manner calls himself the Yādava-katakāchārya.

KING BŌDHARŪPA

Probably belonging to the 14th century, when the Hoysala power had been overthrown by Muhammadan invasions from the north, and the Changālvās were not in evidence in Coorg, we have two inscriptions in Tamil characters (Nos. 8 and 9), the only ones in Coorg so written. They are—the first, in the temple at Pālūr, and the second, at Bhāgamandala,¹ a sacred spot near the source of the river Kāvērī, called in the inscription the Bhagandāśrama, where the Kanake, its first tributary, unites with the Kāvērī, which emerges here from its course for some distance underground. They record grants made by a king named Bōdharūpa Bhagavar. He was a disciple of Avidyāmṛtyu-bhattāraka of the Purushōttama-*parśhad* (or synod), of which we know nothing more. The donor might possibly be identified with the ruler of Durga, now known as Mahārājdurga, in the south-west of the Hassan tāluq of Mysore. For in an inscription from Rudrapatna (Mg 87) we have a Bōdha-mahādēva on the throne of Durga in the time of Bukka-Rāya of Vijayanagar, in 1371, and this seems the most likely period of these two Coorg inscriptions. But unfortunately it is not altogether reliable, being on an alleged copper plate which was not forthcoming. The published version is from a manuscript copy furnished by the people of the village. On the other hand, grounds might be adduced for placing them in the beginning of the 11th century, the period of the Chōla conquest. But against this is the absence of any mention of the Chōlas. Our information regarding the Durga principality, again, is very meagre, but its capital may have been Pālya, to the north of the hill. Compare with this the Pālayūr or Pālūr where the first grant was made.

The opening portion of both records is in Sanskrit verse. The continuation has been represented as being in the Tulu language, but this needs verification. It contains many Tamil terms.²

Of these two inscriptions, which have several features in common, No. 8 is a grant for Pālayūr Mahādēva (Śiva). The duty of maintaining it is laid upon the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, the Valaṇṇiyar (or merchants), the arm-bearing Thousands, and the Brāhmins,—all being described as of the Eighteen countries, which are not specified. A grant (TN 35, as completed³) made in the 20th year of the Chōla king Rājarāja, 1004 A.D., is similarly placed under the protection of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. This designation, therefore, existed before Rāmānuja, with whom the sect of Śrīvaiṣṇava Brāhmins is supposed to have originated, early in the 12th century. Similarly also, grants made at Āvam in 1185 (Mb 45,49b) are committed to the protection of the Valaṇṇiyar (or merchants). The reference to the arm-bearing Thousands may be compared with 'the great army of the Right-hand of the Eighteen countries,

¹ This stone is cracked transversely across the middle, said to be due to the followers of Tipu Sultān. For the first impressions of these two inscriptions I was indebted to Mr. Gustav Haller. But better ones were afterwards obtained through Mr. Krishna Śūstri.

² For the decipherment of the vernacular portion I have to thank Mr. Narasimhachār, who says :—'The characters are a jumble of Grantha, Malayālam, Tamil, and a few Vaṭṭeluttu. There is no doubt about portions being in Tamil, but other portions are in a language which is neither Malayālam nor Tulu, but is related to them. I think the inscriptions are older than 1400 A.D. Some of the characters appear to go back to the 11th century'. Mr. Krishna Śūstri has also rendered good assistance in the interpretation.

³ See MAR 1912, para. 77.

armed with great weapons', mentioned in 1072 in the time of Rājendra-Chōla (Mb 49a, 119). The Right- and Left- hand factions are composed of agricultural, artisan and trading classes, divided into these two violently opposed camps. The institution is ancient, but its origin is obscure. So far as can be seen, it was a conflict of home industrial classes with outsiders from other parts. The Brāhmins are then lastly named as custodians. It would seem therefore that the four orders of Hindus,—Brāhmins, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras—are intended. The penalties for neglect are somewhat peculiar.

In No. 9 we are supplied with certain astronomical data, but they are insufficient for calculation. This grant implies that it was made after the one at Pālūr, though doubtless at about the same time. Moreover the original is stated in it to have been engraved on a copper plate. Of this there is now no trace. Bōdharūpa was associated with others, not named, in making the grant. A chief named Mēlpūndi Kunniyarasa was ruling the nād. What nād is not stated, but 'this' nād is mentioned farther on as being under the rule of the king who ordered the grant. The rest of the inscription prescribes the offerings to be made, and the penalties for neglect. The arm-bearing Thousands of the Eighteen countries and the Valaṅgiyar are here charged to guard the temple. For whatever is omitted, reference is to be made to the treasury register and the copper plate. It was written (or engraved) by Pakandala-āyāri. The Pālūr temple is now said to be dedicated to Mahalingēśvara, and that at Bhāgamandala to Bhagandēśvara, but it also has shrines to Vishnu, Subrahmanya, Kīnammani, and Ganapati.

MUNIVARĀDITYA GŌKULA-DEVARASA

Another local potentate appears at about this period in No. 75, which is dated only in the cyclic year and may belong to 1264. It contains some unusual items of interest. He was a maha-mandalēśvara named Vira-Munivarāditya Gōkula-dēvarasa, and is described as subduer of Chantu, and supporter of Satyarāya (whoever they were). During his rule, there was a cattle raid by the Tengu-nādaka, who seized the cows of Yalaghalī. The wife of his brave retainer Mēlahi (who was no doubt absent at the time) was so furious at this outrage that she wrestled with the marauder, overpowered and threw him down, and tied his legs with a rope. For this plucky deed, Bidade, as she seems to have been named, was rewarded with a nose jewel.

THE NAVA DANNĀYAKS

On the fall of the Hoysala kingdom there ensued a period of interregnum which invited attempts on the part of aspirants for power. One such was connected with the Nava Dannāyaks of Kōte or Betadakōte in the south of Mysore, where they occupied the Gōpālasvāmī hill. They seem to have been descendants from a great minister under Ballāla III, named Perumāla-dannāyaka. His son Mād̥hava-dannāyaka was governor of Padinālnknād² in the south of Mysore in 1318 (Ch 103, Gu 56), and had his residence at Terakauāmbi in the Gundalpet tāluq (Gu 58). He was followed by his son Kēṭaya-dannāyaka, ruling in 1321 (Gu 69), and by Singeya-dannāyaka, ruling in 1338 (Hs 82). They call themselves lords of Svastipura, which is not identified.

The Nava Dannāyaks were nine brothers, the chief of whom was called Perumāl-dannāyak. Tradition says that four of them, headed by Bhīma-dannāyak, quarrelled with the

¹ See above, p. 15. He may be connected with the Gōpāla-dēva mentioned in No. 54.

² There seems no reason to connect this name, which means Fourteen Nādes, with Pāḍinālnknād, a tāluq in Coorg, where it refers to certain Four Nāds (Nālnknād) in contradistinction to those forming Yedenālnknād. At the same time it is curious to note that the Terakauāmbi-nād is said (Gu 11) to be also called Kudugu-nād, which is the name of Coorg.

other five, and gaining possession of Nagarapura (Nanjangūd) and Ratnapur (Hedatāle), set up a separate government. After a time they returned to attack Bettadakōṭe, which held out for three years before it was captured, and then only by a stratagem. Mañcha-dannāyak, who conducted the defence, on seeing the citadel taken, leaped from the hill on horseback and was killed, the spot where this occurred being still pointed out. The four victorious Dannāyaks, placing a junior member of the family in charge of the government at Bettadakōṭe, set forth on expeditions of conquest, in the course of which it is said they overran the country from Davasi-betta (the southern point of Coorg) in the south, to Goa in the north, and from Satyamangalam (on the Bhavāni in Coimbatore District) in the east, to the Bisale-ghāt (in the north-west of Coorg) on the west. There are no inscriptions in Coorg testifying to these events, which must have soon passed. But the Dannāyaks have left their name in Dannāyakankōṭṭai, 12 miles south-west of Satyamangalam.¹

VIJAYANAGAR

The Vijayanagar empire had by this time been established, and in 1390 we are informed (Cg 39) that Harihara [II], having read the deed of the original dedication by Rājādhirāja-Kongālva, with the view of continuing it, made a grant of Mullu-nād to Gonka-Radda-nāyaka, whose bravery had been noticed by his general Gundappa-daunāyaka. Vijayanagar influence and authority are also attested by the reference made in connection with Bōdha-mahādēva above to Bukka-Rāja; by the acknowledgment of the Bēlūr chiefs below, who owed their status to Krishna-Rāja; and by the action of the Vijayanagar viceroy in regard to the Changālvas. Firishṭa says that at the end of the 16th century Coorg proper was governed by its own chiefs, called Nāyaks, who admitted the supremacy of Vijayanagar; but they seem often to have been at feud with one another. According to tradition, the country was then divided into twelve Kombus and thirty-five Nāḍs.

BĒLŪR

Of the Bēlūr chiefs there are three inscriptions—Cg 11, dated in 1693; 66 and 47, dated in 1755 and 1756. These show that, after the extinction of the Changālvas, the Bēlūr chiefs had acquired some territory for a time in the north of Coorg. The family was descended from Ere-Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the bearer of the Hadapa, or betel-bag, to the Vijayanagar king Krishna-Rāja (reigned 1509–29), who gave him the Bēlūr kingdom. It was overrun by Śivappa-Nāyaka of Bednūr before the middle of the 17th century, and by him was bestowed on the fugitive king of Vijayanagar who had fled to him for refuge. He even laid siege to Seringapatam in 1646 on the plea of restoring the Vijayanagar king to power, but was beaten off, and the Mysore army retaliated by subduing the Bēlūr country. On the conclusion of peace in 1694, six *nāḍs* of Manjarābād were restored to the old chiefs, and the rest divided between the contending parties. The genealogy of the line is given in the Hassan volume of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*.

Cg 11 records the grant of the village of Katteputura, with Hirumanahalli, to a Brāhman, in 1693, by Krishnappa-Nāyaka IV. Cg 66 is the grant of an elephant and the village of Mudravalli, as an offering for Krishna, to a great *yōgi* named Kaivalya, in about 1755, by the Bēlūr king Krishna (Krishnappa-Nāyaka VI). The inscription is in Sanskrit verse, and ends with the question: 'If it be asked, for what reason was this given?'—but here the record stops, and furnishes no answer. Cg 47 is of the following year, and states that the same Krishnappa-Nāyaka made a grant of the village-rent to a *gauda* of Mālambi.

¹ See *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1907, p. 80; 1910, para, 52.

COORG RĀJAS

On the downfall of the Changālvas in 1644, the throne of Coorg was left vacant. But it did not long remain so. For a prince of the Bednūr family, in the Shimoga District of Mysore, who may have been connected in some way with the Changālvas, established himself at Hālēri (called Kshīra-nagara in Sanskrit), to the north of Mercāra, in the guise of a Jangama or Lingāyit priest. Gradually levying contributions by virtue of his sacred office, and enlisting a special guard for his protection, he ended by bringing the whole country under his authority, and was the progenitor of the Coorg Rājas of the house of Hālēri (corrupted into Allory in English documents). The third from him removed the capital from Hālēri to Madikēri, the existing Merkāra, or Mercāra as it is now generally spelt, where he built a fort and palace in 1681. His successors continued in power till 1834, when the last was deposed by the British Government, and died in 1859.

The Coorg Rājas claim to be of the Chandra-vaṃśa or Lunar race, of the Bharadvāja-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra, Rikshabhānukādhya,¹ and the Vīra-Śaiva *mata* or religion. The titles they assume are—rājādhirāja, rāja-paramēśvara, prahuda-pratāpa, apratma-vīra-narapati, seated on the jewelled throne of the Kodagu-samsthāna. These resemble those of the Mysore Rājas.

Their inscriptions are mostly dated according to the Kali-yuga, though the Śālivāhana-śaka is used in some. But from the time of Linga-Rājendra I, they have this peculiarity, that not only are the particulars of the date given in the usual manner, but even the precise number of the day of the Kali-yuga. For example, No. 17 informs us that the erection of the Ōmkārēśvara temple was commenced on the 1,796,392nd Kali day and completed on the 1,797,421st day. This method of dating seems to be a Malabar custom.²

No. 12 records the death of Linga-Rājendra I in 1780, and the erection, in accordance with his wishes, of his tomb in Mahadēvapura, by his son Vīra-Rājendra-Vadeyar, who also built there a temple of Basavēśvara and the *matha* or monastery of the Murigi sect, and endowed them with certain villages. The temple was repaired the following year, at the instance of Siddalingappa, deputy guru of Kodagu, the repairs being completed in 1782. The subservience of the Rājas to the Lingāyit gurus will appear in the inscriptions that follow.

No. 13 is the record of a grant to the Abbi-matha by Vīra-Rājendra-Vadeyar in 1796. In this the king describes himself as having been dedicated by the lotus hands of the *svāmi* of the Siddapura-matha, who was an adherent of those (high priests) enthroned in the upper cave at Śivaganga (in the north-west of the Bangalore District of Mysore). The inscription refers to grants originally made to the Abbi-matha in 1728 by his great-grandfather Doddavirappa-Vadeyar, first of two villages, and afterwards of a third, when Doddavirūpākshasvāmi visited Madikēri, on which occasion the king held the *guru's* feet and made petition (that he might offer the grant). These gifts Vīra-Rājendra now renewed and confirmed, inscribing the details on a copper plate, which was placed at the feet of Nirāñjana-dēva of the Abbi-matha, representing the Murigi-svāmi. (The chief monastery of the Murigi-svāmi is near Chitaldroog in Mysore). In granting this charter the king directs that at the time of Śiva-pūjā blessings may be continually invoked (for him) with the hymn of benediction (saying) —

Recollection of former births, dominion of the world, the glory of good fortune, surpassing beauty,

Faith in thee, knowledge, long life, (objects of) desire—(of these) be thou giver to me, Śankara, from age to age.

¹ In the latest inscriptions Rik-śākhā is substituted for this.

² It has also been found in one case, from the North Arcot District, of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I, in 943 (*Rep. Arch. S. of India*, 1905-6, p. 171).

The witnesses are thus described :—Sun and moon, wind and fire, sky, earth and water, heart (or conscience) and Yama, day and night, morning and evening ; these know the deeds of a righteous man.

No. 14 is a grant of land made at the same time by the same king for the Mahadēvapuramatha. When the *pattada-svāmi*, or crown high-priest, of the Siddapura-matha paid a visit to the Mahadēvapura-maṭha, the king performed obeisance to him with the eight members (*sāṣṭhāṅga*—hands, breast, forehead, knees and feet, touching the ground), and holding his feet, made the gift as an offering to Śiva. The copper plate on which it was inscribed was placed at the feet of Śāntavīra-svāmi, deputy of the Kodali-mahanta-svāmi, deputy of the Mahā-Murigī-svāmi. The directions as to invocation of blessings at the time of Śiva-pūjā, and the witnesses are as in the preceding inscription.

No. 17 is dated in 1820, and contains an account of the erection of the Ōmkārēśvara temple at Mercāra and its endowment by Linga-Rājendra-Vaḍeyar II. Considering that by the performance of good deeds in this world must be obtained perfect fruition in the present world and the next, he resolved to set up a Śiva-linga, as an act ensuring the acquisition of the highest merit. Accordingly, he commenced building this beautiful new temple, a lotus ornament to the earth, at the date specified, on the 1,796,392nd Kali day. And in 2 years, 9 months and 25 days the building was completed, and he set up the Śiva-linga named Ōmkārēśvara in it on the 1,797,421st Kali day, through the power bestowed by the great mercy of the holy Chandraśekhara (Śiva). Then follows a specification of the allowances granted for up-keep, and the services to be performed, adding that the accounts and papers of the temple were to be audited and examined annually.

No. 25, dated in 1824, is of quite a different character from any of the above, and may perhaps be described as sporting. It relates that when Vīra-Rājendra-Vaḍeyar II, with various laudatory epithets, his fame pervading all the points of the compass, was ruling with justice, purity and uprightness¹, at all times devoted to meditation on Mahādēva ;—elephants multiplied so greatly in his country that they were destroying the fruits and crops raised by men for their own sustenance, killing travellers, and doing damage to houses, so much so that the subjects represented that they were unable to bear these calamities. Considering in his mind that it is the duty of a king to put down the evil and uphold the good, he prayed to Gaurīdhava (Śiva) to give him power to remove these troubles. Having received a token of supreme favour from Śāmba-Śankara (Śiva), he had a chariot made, painted like a lion (according to Hindū belief the natural enemy of the elephant), and by means of this entered, beginning on the auspicious 1,798,128th Kali day, into the middle of the forests where the herds of rutting elephants were ranging, and during 2 years, 1 month and 25 days (March 1822 to April 1824), to the 1,798,913th Kali day, by the power of his arm having destroyed them in various ways, made a pause, while at the same time others had by his orders been captured alive with chains by trained soldiers. He thus made good the pronunciation of *gaja* (elephant) in the popular form *aḷa* (goat)

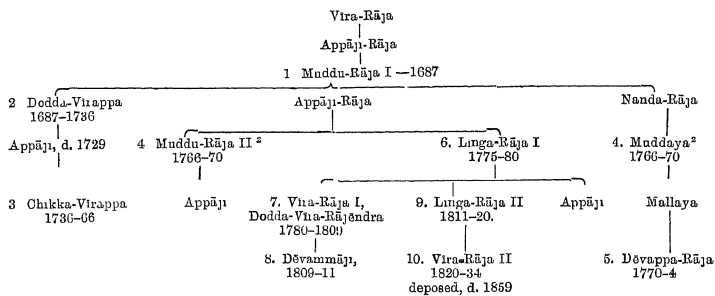
An account is then given in detail of the numbers killed and captured, the places where they were bagged, and the dates on which the hunts took place. The forests visited were those in the east and south of the country—in Nanjarāyapattana tāluq, Ulugulī-Mūdigēri-nād and Horūr-Nūrokkal-nād (both in Mercāra tāluq), Kodagu-Śrīrangapattana, and Kiggatnād tāluq. The actual number of days occupied in the hunt was 88, during which

¹ Unfortunately very unlike his real character.

the Rāja killed with his own hand 233, and his troops captured alive 181. A total of 414 elephants was thus accounted for.

Great was the astonishment at the success of the operations, which is expressed in verse as follows :—Though herds of elephants, towering like mountains, hid the sun as when the sky is overcast with storm-clouds, and roamed about trumpeting in the forests,—with seven-tongued weapons (fire-arms) like thunderbolts he slew them in a moment, while his men captured alive huge and lofty rutting elephants as if they were mice. What a marvel indeed was this !

Such are the inscriptions of the Coorg Rājas, and they give a very inadequate account of their history. It may be well therefore to supplement the information by a table of the Rājas and a summary of the main points connected with their reigns, as well as a notice of the circumstances under which the line came to an end¹. The following is the pedigree :—



Muddu-Rāja I, as already stated above, made Mercāra the capital in 1681. In 1690, when Mysore and Bednūr were contending for the Bēlūr and Manjarābād territory, Doddā-Virappa took possession of the Yēlusāvira country. He also gained the district of Amara-Sulya by aiding the Chirakkal-Rāja against Bednūr. His brothers Appāji-Rāja and Nanda-Rāja settled at Hālērī and Horamale respectively. He died in 1736, at the age of 78. His only son had died in 1729, after being imprisoned for twelve years. But Chikka-Virappa, the son of the latter, who had been imprisoned with him, succeeded to the throne. During his reign Haidar Ali rose to power in Mysore, who, on his conquest of Bednūr in 1763, laid claim to Yēlusāvira, but in consideration of a payment of three lakhs of pagodas consented to grant Uchingi to Coorg. Chikka-Virappa died in 1766 without leaving any heir. The succession therefore passed to the Hālērī and Horamale branches.

Muddu-Rāja II and Muddaya, representing the two houses, ruled together at the same time. The promised cession of Uchingi having been delayed, eventually they succeeded in obtaining Panje and Bellāre instead. These joint rulers both died in the same year, 1770. A dispute for the throne now arose between Muddu-Rāja's son Appāji, supported by his uncle Linga-Rāja, and Muddaya's grandson Dēvappa, supported by his father Mallaya. Dēvappa was preferred and became Rāja, on which Linga-Rāja went off to seek the assistance of Haidar Ali, taking with him his son Vira-Rāja and his nephew Appāji. As soon as a respite in the war which Haidar was waging with the Mahrattas allowed, he furnished Linga-Rāja with a force which enabled him to march upon Coorg. Dēvappa-Rāja

¹ A fuller account will be found in Vol. III of my *Mysore and Coorg*, published in 1878 (Government Press, Bangalore).

² Ruled together, at the same time.

fled to the Churakkal-Rāja, but meeting with a cold reception, escaped to Harihar, where he was taken prisoner and sent to Seringapatam. There he was put to death, with all his family, the Horemale branch being thus brought to an end. Haidar now offered Coorg to Linga-Rāja on condition of paying tribute, but deprived him of Amara-Sulya, Panje, Bellāre, and Yālusāvira, giving him instead permission to occupy a part of Wainād. On Linga-Rāja's death in 1780, Haidar assumed entire possession of Coorg under the pretext of being guardian to his sons until they should come of age. Meanwhile they were made to reside at Gorūr, on the Kāvērī, in the Hassan District of Mysore. A former Brāhman treasurer of the Coorg Rāja was appointed governor, and a Musalmān garrison held the fort at Mercāra.

These measures drove the Coorgs into rebellion, and in 1782 they rose and expelled the Musalmāns. Haidar was at this time engaged in war with the British in the Carnatic, and his death soon after prevented immediate retribution. But his son Tipu Sultān was fully determined on the reconquest of Coorg. He removed the family of the Coorg Rājas to Piriapatna or Periapatam, and when he had retaken Nagar, and reduced Mangalore in 1784, marched through Coorg to Seringapatam. After denouncing the Coorgs as guilty of polyandry, and for their rebellions, he said he would forgive them this once, but if they rebelled again he vowed that he would honour every man with Islām and banish them from their country. Scarcely had he left when they again took up arms in 1785 and repossessed themselves of their native hills. A force sent to put them down was driven back, on which Tipu himself marched to Coorg with an army. Having allured most of the Coorgs to meet him at Tale-Kāvērī, under pretence of peaceable intentions and conciliatory measures, he suddenly seized them, and hunting out their families, drove them, altogether about 70,000, like a herd of cattle to Seringapatam, where all the males were forcibly circumcised. Coorg was partitioned among Musalmān landlords, to whom the slaves of the country were made over. The only condition laid on the new owners was that they were to search out and slay all such Coorgs as might have escaped his vengeance, as he was resolved on their extermination. The country was held in four forts, at Mercāra (Jālarābād), Fraserpet (Kushālnagar), Bhāgamandala, and Beppunād.

But in December 1788 Vira-Rāja or Vira-Rājendra-Wodeyar, with his wife and his two brothers Linga-Rāja and Appāji, managed to escape from Piriapatna, after a confinement of six years. The Coorgs rallied round him, and before long he had possessed himself of the whole country, the large force sent against him by Tipu being diverted to the western coast owing to a revolt of the Malayālam Rājas. The British now entered into a treaty with Vira-Rājendra in view to the impending struggle with Tipu. He assisted the Bombay army on its march to Seringapatam with supplies procured by wholesale plunder of the neighbouring countries, and at the spot where he first met the British Commander, General Abercromby, he founded Virarājendrapet (generally called Virājpet for short), now the second place in Coorg.

On the night in February 1792 when Lord Cornwallis drove Tipu back into Seringapatam and the British occupied the island, 5,000 Coorgs who had been carried away by Tipu escaped in the confusion and regained their native country, making with their wives and children a body of some 12,000. In the final war with Tipu in 1799, Vira-Rājendra again rendered assistance with supplies and transport, and laid waste the enemy's country around Coorg. He was rewarded with some of the trophies of the victory, and was granted Panje and Bellāre in South Kanara.

His great anxiety now arose from his having no son to succeed him. He had married a second time in 1796, but only daughters were born to him. His mind was affected, and

he became subject to paroxysms of sanguinary rage in which he ordered executions and massacres for which he was filled with remorse when he recovered. A plot to assassinate him failed. With the death of his wife in 1807 all hopes of an heir being extinguished, he wrote to the Governor-General requesting that the succession to the throne might be settled on his four daughters or their male issue in order of seniority. Before this matter could be decided, he felt that his end was approaching, and maddened with concern for the safety of his daughters if he should die, he sent executioners to put his two brothers to death, but coming to himself again, despatched messengers to countermand the orders. They were too late in the case of Appāji, the younger one, but were in time to save Linga-Rāja. He also had a history of the Coorg Rājas, called the *Rājēndranāme*¹, compiled in Kannada or Kanarese, which was translated for him into English by Lieutenant Abercromby at Mangalore in 1808. At length, in June 1809, he sent for his beloved daughter Dēvammāji, gave his seal into her hands, and shortly after expired.

Dēvammāji, though under age, was now acknowledged as Rāni of Coorg, and the Sōde Rāja, who was married to the late Rāja's daughter by his first wife, continued to act as Dewan. But Linga-Rāja induced the Coorgs to accept him as Regent instead of the Sōde Rāja, who retired to his own country. Linga-Rāja next persuaded the Rāni to sign an abdication of the throne in his favour, and in 1811 permanently assumed the government. He also strove to get possession of the large sums invested at Bombay and Madras in the name of Dēvammāji by her father. But these the Governor-General pronounced to be state funds, only the interest of which might be paid to Linga-Rāja as guardian of Dēvammāji and Regent of Coorg. Linga-Rāja strengthened all the fortifications, and carried out a regular survey of the land; but reduced the people to a state of abject slavery by a rigid system of terror, of which no hint was allowed to be heard outside the country². He died in 1820, at the age of 45, and his wife, full of fear for her future, committed suicide and was buried with him.

His son, Vīra-Rāja II, who was about 20 years old, succeeded. His first act was to put to death all who had displeased or thwarted him in his father's lifetime. He was grossly sensual and most sanguinary in his rule, bloody executions continually taking place. At length, in 1832, his sister and her husband escaped to Mysore and put themselves under the protection of the British Resident. Their restoration was refused, and inquiries were made into the proceedings of the Rāja, who was warned of the consequences if he did not reform. But he paid no heed. Dēvammāji, the daughter of Vīra-Rājendra, was murdered, as well as all the surviving members of the families of his predecessors. As his disaffection openly increased, and he wrote insulting letters to the Governor of Madras and the Governor-General, it was decided in 1834 to depose him. This resolution was met by a most abusive proclamation against the British. A force advanced into Coorg in four columns from different sides, and encountered but little serious opposition at most of the stockades. The British flag was hoisted at Mercāra on the 6th of April. The Rāja, who had retired to Nālknād with his women and treasures, had not the courage to face the invaders.

¹ Not altogether to be relied on. It relates to the period from 1633 to 1807.

² Interesting light is thrown on the system of administration by the translation of the *Hukumnāma*, or Regulations for Public Servants, issued in the name of this king, which has recently been published (Mercara, 1911), with an Introduction, by Mr. A. J. Curgiven, I.C.S.—Some graphic accounts of his visit to Coorg in 1811 and 1812 are given by Colonel James Welsh in his *Reminiscences from a Journal of Forty Years Active Service in the East Indies*.

On the 11th, Colonel Fraser, the Political Agent with the force, issued a proclamation that "the rule and dominion of Rāja Vīra-Rājendra-Wodeyar over the country of Coorg had now definitely and for ever ceased." The Coorgs breathed freely when they found that he was not to remain in their country, and unanimously voted to be placed under the British Government. The annexation was accordingly proclaimed on the 7th of May 1834. The ex-Rāja was deported to Vellore, and was subsequently allowed to live at Benares. In addition to the pension granted to him, he demanded the payment to him of the capital, originally the inheritance of Dēvamājī, of which the interest had continued to be paid to the Coorg Rājas. In 1852 he obtained permission from the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, to visit England with his favourite daughter Gauramma, then ten years old, in order to give her a European education. Arrived there, he expressed a wish to have her brought up in the Christian faith. Queen Victoria took an interest in the Indian princess, and at her baptism, on the 30th of June 1852, stood sponsor through the Archbishop of Canterbury, and gave her the name Victoria Gauramma. Feeling himself now strong in the royal favour, the ex-Rāja commenced a Chancery suit against the East India Company for the recovery of the sums formerly invested for Dēvamājī. The suit dragged on a weary course till in 1858 the Government of India was transferred to the Crown, and his suit thus failed. The Coorg princess was carefully brought up¹ and eventually married a British officer, but she died in 1864, leaving one child, a girl. Her husband afterwards mysteriously disappeared and is supposed to have fallen a victim to foul play. Vīra-Rāja himself died in London on the 24th of September 1859. His body was at first temporarily placed in the catacombs at Kensal Green cemetery, and next year sent to India for interment, two of his wives going with it to Benares.

BRITISH PERIOD

Of three inscriptions falling in this period, only one (Cg 29) need be noticed. It is dated in 1857 and records the restoration of the temple of Mahādēva on the Kunda hill in Bettiyattu-nād. The work was commenced three years before, on the 1,810,060th Kali day, by agreement between the Takka-mukhyastaru of Bettiyattu-nād and Ammati-nād. These Takkas are recognized elders among the Coorgs in each village and nād, and are the censors of morals and regulators of social affairs. The institution is hereditary in certain families. The inscription gives a list of the principal people who assisted in the work, and mentions what parts of the temple they provided. One was actually a Muhammadan by name, the Jāgirdār of the Kunda village, and he had the Nandīśvara or sacred bull in front of the temple made. A blessing is invoked on all who took part in the erection.

ARCHITECTURE

The ruined Jain temples at Mullūr may have been worthy of notice. But the principal architectural monuments now standing are the tombs of the Rājas at Mahādēvapura, near Mercāra, built in 1809 and 1821. They are square buildings, much in the Muhammadan style, on well raised basements, with a handsome dome in the centre, and minaret-like turrets at the four corners surmounted by *basavas* or bulls. On the top of the dome is a gilded ball, with a vane. All the windows have well carved syenite frames, with solid brass bars. The palace at Mercāra, first erected in 1681, is also of interest, though alterations have been made to fit it for its present uses. Good wood-carving may sometimes be seen in the domestic architecture.

¹ By Sir John and Lady Login. He had been Residency Surgeon at Lucknow when the King of Oudh was ruling, and they were after that guardians of Duleep Singh, the young Sikh Mahārāja.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF THE INSCRIPTIONS ARRANGED IN
CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Date A.D.	Name of Ruler	Taluk No	Date A D	Name of Ruler	Taluk No
<i>Kadambas</i>					
1095	Duddharasa	57	..	....	..
<i>Gangas</i>					
466	Avinita	1	c. 910	Ereyapa	74
888	Satyavākya II	2	944	....	28
c. 890	do	3	978	Satyavākya IV	4
c. 900	Ereyarasa	60	1000	....	5
<i>Chōlas</i>					
c. 1004	Rājārāja	46	..	....	..
<i>Changālvās</i>					
c. 1095	Changālva	61	? 1297	Harihara-Dēva	59
1106	Annadāni	51	? 1345	....	63
1218	....	32	? c. 1350	..	64
c. 1220	Changālva	27	? 1360	....	67
1278	....	32	? 1380	..	58
c. 1280	Mallī-Dēva, Harihara-Dēva.	54	1544	Śrīkanṭharasa	26
c. 1280	do do	55	1544	....	10
c. 1290	....	52	1597	Rudragana	24
1296	Harihara-Dēva	45	..	....	..
<i>Kongālvās</i>					
c. 1030	....	41	1064	....	34
? 1044	....	56	c. 1070	Prithuvi-Kongālva	36
c. 1050	Kongālva's son	30	1070	Rājendra-Prithuvi-Kongālva.	49
c. 1050	....	31	1070	do do	50
c. 1050	Kongālva	48	1077	Rājendra-Chōla-Dēva ..	43
c. 1050	Rājādhrāja-Kongālva ..	37	c. 1080	....	44
c. 1050	do do	38	c. 1100	....	62
c. 1050	....	42	? 1115	Vīra-Chōla-Kongālva ..	33
? 1055	Kongālva-Dēva	53	..	....	..
1058	Rājendra-Kongālva	35	..	....	..
<i>Hoyśālas</i>					
1175	Ballāla-Dēva II	65	1255	Nārasimha III	6
1175	do.	70	1285	do.	7
1216	....	40	..	....	..
<i>Mumvārādātya</i>					
? 126	Gokula-Devarasa	75	..	....	..
<i>Durga</i>					
c. 1371	Bōdharūpa Bhagavar ..	8	c. 1371	Bōdharūpa Bhagavar ..	9

CLASSIFIED LIST IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

29

Date A D	Name of Ruler	Taluk No	Date A.D	Name of Ruler	Taluk No.
<i>Vijayanagar</i>					
1390	Harihara (II)	39	..	....	..
<i>Bellur</i>					
1693 c. 1755	Krishnappa-Nāyaka IV .. do VI ..	11 66	? 1756 ..	Krishnappa-Nāyaka VI	47 ..
<i>Coorg Rajas</i>					
? c. 1700	....	71	1820	Linga-Rājendra ..	17
1731	....	68	1824	Vira-Rājendra II ..	25
1731	....	69	1828	....	63
1782	Vira-Rājendra I	12	c. 1830	....	64
1796	do.	13	1831	Vira-Rājendra II ..	18
1796	do.	14	1831	do.	19
1808	....	15	1831	....	20
1815	....	16	1831	Vira-Rājendra II	21
<i>British Period</i>					
1841	....	22	1857	....	29
1842	....	23	..	....	..

TEXT IN ROMAN CHARACTERS

1

On copper plates found in the Treasury at Mercara¹.

(Ib) *svasti jītam bhagavatā gata-ghana-gaganābhēna Padmānābhēna śrīmad-Jāhnavīya[ku]
lāmālā-vyōmāvabhāsana-bhāskaraḥ² sva-khadgayka-prahāra-khandita-mahā-silā-stambha-
labdha-bala-parākramō dāranōri-gana-vidāranōpalabdhā-brana-vibhūshana-vibhūshita Kanvā
yana-sa-gōtrasya śrīmān-Kongani-mahādhirāja || tat-putra pitur-anvāgata-guna-yuktō vidyā-
vmeya-vihita-vrittah samyāk-prajāpalanā-mātrādhigata-rājyāt-prayōjana vidvat-kavi-kāñcha
na-nikāshōpala-bhūtō nīti-sāstrasya vaktri-payōktri-kusalasya Dattaka-sūtra-vrittih-praṇōtām
śrīmān-Mādhava-mahādhirāja || tat-putra pitri-paitāmahā-guna-yuktō vanēka-chāturdanta-
yuddha-vāpti-chatur-udadhi-salila-svādita-yasa śrīmad-Harivarmma-mahādhirāja || tat-putra ||
dvija-guru-dēvatāḥ-pūjana-parō Nārāyana-charanānuddhata śrīmad-Vishnuḡōpa-ma-(IIa)
hādhirāja || tasya putra || Triyambhaka-charanāmbhōruha-rājāḥ-pavitri-kritōttamānga sva-
bhujā-bala-parākrama-kriyā-krita-rājya Kali-yuga-bala-pamkāvasanna-vrīshōddharana-nitya-
sannaddha³ śrīmān-Mādhava-mahādhirāja || tasya putra || śrīmad-Kadamba-kula-gagana-
gabhasti-mālina Krishnavarmma-mahādhirājasya priyā-bhāgmēyō vidyā⁴-vimeyatīsa-para-
pūritāntarātma⁵ nīravagraha-prathāna-sauryya vidva-suprathama-ganya śrīmān-Kongani-
mahādhirāja Avinita-nāmadhēya dattasya Dēsigna-ganaḡ Kondakundānvaya Gunachandra-
bhatāra sishyasya Abhanandi-bhatāra⁶ tasya sishyasya Śīlabhadra-bhatāra-sishyasya Jaya
nandi-bhatāra-sishyasya Gunanandi⁷-bhatāra-sishyasya Chandanandi-bhatāragge ashtā-asiti-
uttarasya trayō-satasya⁸ samvatsarasya Māgha-māsam Śōmavāram Svāti-nakshatra suddha
pañchamī Akālavārsha-Prithuvi-Vallabha-mantri Talavana-nagara-Śrīvijaya-Jinālayakke
Pūnādu-ahhā-sahasra Edeṇādu-saptarī-madhyē Badaneguppe-nāma Avmita-mahādhirājēna
dattēna padiye āṛ olaḡ-ūr-ū (IIb) rol pannir-kkandugan geydu ambali-mannum Talavana-
puradol tala-vittiyaman Pogarigeleyol pannir-kkandugam manōharam dattam Badaneguppe-grāmasya simāntaram
pūrbasyām-disi kemḡuge-moradiē Gajaseleye Karivalliya-Kottagara-Badaneguppeya-trisan
dhiya sattu-koradu āgnēyadin ante bandu Kāgaḡ-tatākam puna daksinaśyām-disi bahuśnuhiye
balkani-vrikshame puna paśchima-mukhade sanda bahumūlika-pantiye puna Badaneguppeya-
Kottagara-Multagiya-trisandhiya kole Chandigāle puna naratyade sandu kathaka-vrikshame
puna paśchimasyām-disi peld-uldil-vrikshame sānterotiya vata-vrikshame puna tore-vallame
uttarā-mukhade sanda bahumūlika-pantiye jambupadiya-tatākame puna vāyavyade gale-
chumcha-vrikshame puna Badaneguppeya-Multagiya-Koleyanūra-Dāsanūra-trisandhiya-
nerggūla-gumbe niduvelunge puna Gajaseleya-grāma uttara-disi kāyga-moradie ilidu kema

¹ Originally deciphered by me and published in 1872, *Ind Ant* 1, 363; see also xii, 12. The facsimile now published is from an impression by Dr Fleet The original impression by Dr Burgess is given in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 1

² A symbol here supposed to represent Ōm.

³ The *ma* is inserted below the line

⁴ *Vidyā* is inserted below the line, with a small cross above, to show where it should come

⁵ By mistake *tna* has been engraved for *tma*.

⁶ This name should most probably be Abhayanandi.

⁷ The second *na* is inserted below the line.

⁸ The first *sa* is inserted below the line between two vertical strokes.

⁹ The *ya* is inserted below the line.

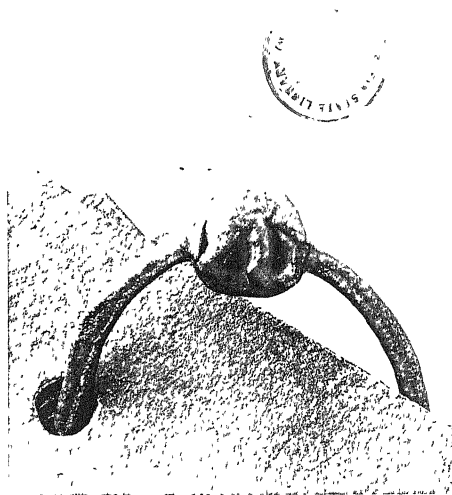
ASAFIA HYDERABAD

126

20 01 22 24 26 28

20 22 24 26 28

30 30
 32 32
 34 34
 36 36
 38 38



Ring and Seal.



reye puna pūrbba-mukhade sanda bahumūlika-pa (*IIIa*) ntiye puna kadapaltigāla vaṭa-
vrikshame puna isānade Badaneguppeya-Dāsanūra-Polmada-trisandhiya taṭākame kodigatti
chificha-vrikshame komṭarambina¹ dīneim pūrbbaḍe kūditṭu sīmāntaram || tasya sākshinā
Ganga-rāja-kula-sakalāsthayika-purusha Perbbakkavāna Marugareya Sendrika Gamjenāda
Nirggunda Maniyugureya Nandyāla Sūmbāl Ādapa bhrityayām dēsa-sākshi Tagadūra Kulugō
varu Ganiganūra Tagadaru Ālgodate Nandakarum Ummatūra Bellurum Ālageyarum
Badanoguppeya Jhaṁsanda² Belluraru Perggiviyaṛum || svadatta paradattāṁg vā yō harētha
vasundharī shashtim varsha sahasrāni vištāyām jāyate³ krīmi || vasubhi vasudhā bhuktam
rājabbis Saka-rājabbhi⁴ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi tasya tasya tadā palāṁ || dēvasvan tu visham
ghōram na visham visham uchyatē visham ēkāknām hōnti dēvasva putra pautrikām || sāmān-
[y]ōyam dharmma hētum⁵ nripāṇām kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhi sarbbān ētām bhāgina⁶
pārttīvōndrā bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadra⁷ || Viśvakarmma likhitam ◎

2

On a stone at Biliūr (in Kiggaṭ-nād).

⁸ bhadram astu Jina-sāsanāya Saka-nrip-atitā-kāla-samvatsaramgal entunūr-ombattaneya
varsham pravarttisuttire svasti Satyavākya-Komgunivarmma-dharmma-mahārājādhirāja
Kovalāla-puravarēśvara Nandagiri-nātha śrīmat-Permmanadiya rājyābhishēkam geyda padi
nonṭaneya⁹ varshad andu Pālguna-māsada śrī-paṭchame yandu Śivanandi-siddhāntada-
bhatārara śiṣhyar Ssarvbaṇandī¹⁰-dēvargge¹¹ Penne-gadangada Satyavākya-Jmālayakke
Peddoregareya Biliūr-ppannir-ppalliyumam sarvba-pāda-parihāra Permmanadi kottō tom
bhattaru-sāsirvbarum ay-sāmantarum Beddoregareya elpadimbarum ent-okkalum idakke
sākshi Male-sāsirvbarum aymurvbarum¹² ay-dāmarigarum idakke kāpu idan alidoṁ
Bāranāsiyumam sāsirvbar-ppārvbarumam sāsiraṁ kavileyuman alidoṁ paṭicha-mahāpātakan
akkum Sedōjana likhitta¹³ Beliūra¹⁴ enbattu-gadyāṇa ponnū entu-nūru-battamum teruvom.

3

On a stone at Kotūr (same nād) in the Lakkunda forest.

svasti Satyavākya-Komgunivarmma-dharmma-mahārājādhirājām Kuvalāla-puravarēśvaram
Nandagiri-nātham śrīmat-Permmanadigal Jedala Ereyanga-gāvundana magamge Permmadi-

¹ The *ta* is inserted below the line between two vertical strokes

² What looks like this name is inserted below the line here in a different cursive hand.

³ The *ya* is inserted below the line.

⁴ Generally *Sagarādabhih*

⁵ Properly *sūtram*: the collocation *dharmma hētum* recalls the Buddhist formula.

⁶ Generally *bhāvina*.

⁷ Generally *Rāmachandrā*.

⁸ See note 2, p. 30.

⁹ The first *ne* is inserted below the line.

¹⁰ For the subscript *va* the earlier form of *ba* is used; also in l. 8, 9.

¹¹ The sign for subscript *na* is the same as for *na*, as usual at this period.

¹² Read *aynūrvvarum*. The subscript *va* in this and the next line has the modern form of *ba*.

¹³ Read *likhitam*

¹⁴ This name begins with the old form of *ba* here, but with the new form in l. 8.

vattam gatti biṭṭa stiti-kramam āvud endode siddhāyada ponnol pattu gadyāpa ponnun
biltiya bhattadol nūru-bhattamumam ellā-kālakkam sāsanam āge bittar Būvayyan akkaram
mamgalam Ereyamgange kalādu mahāśrī.

4

On a stone at Peggūr (same nād).

svasti Saka-nripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-satanga 899 ttaneya Īsvara-sa[m]vatsaram pra
varttise¹ svasti Satyāvākya²-Kongimavarma-dharmma-mahārājādhirājā Kōlāla-puravar
śvara Nandagiri-nātha śrīmat Rāchamalla-Parmmanadigal tad-varsh-ā³bhyantara
Pālguna-sukla-pakshada Nandisvaram talpa-devasam āge svasti samasta-vairi-gaja-ghat-ātōpa-
kumbhikumbha-stala-sputit-ānarghya-muktāphala-grahana-bhikara-kar-āse-nivāsita-dak
shma-dōrddanda-mandita-prachandam annana³-banta badavara-nanṭam śrīmat Rakkasa
Beddoregareyan āluttire bhadram astu Jma-sāsanāya śrī-Belgola-nivāsigaḷ-appa śrī-Birasēna
siddhānta-dēvara vara-śiṣhyar śrī-Gonasēna-paṇḍita-bhātārakara vara-śiṣhyar⁴ śrīmat
Anantavīryayyamaḷ Pe[r]ggadūrum posa-vādagamuman abhyantara-siddhuyāge padedar
adarkke sākshi tombhattaru-sāsirbbarum ay-sāmantarum Beddoregare-yōlpadimbarum
eṇṭ-okkalum idam kāvar mālvar Mmaleparum aynūrbbarum ay-dānarigarum Śrīpurusha⁵-
mahārājaraḍattayan āvon orbban alidom Bānarāsiyūn sāsirba-Brahmanarum sāsira-kaviloṇu
man alida paṭicha-mahāpātakan akkum idan ār-orbbar kādar avarge piridu punyam⁶ Chanda-
nandiyayyana lkhitam|| Perggadūra basadiya sāsanam.

5

*On a stone at Mercara Central School, brought in from the country,
now in the Commissioner's office.*

svasti śrī Śaka-varisha 921 neya Śārvvari-samvatsarada Pālguna-māsada punnime Uttare-
Bhādrapada Arkkavārad-andu Ganagūra Biha-gūmūdana magam Hañcha[da]rma-soṭṭi
Kunin dor-olege gēdu kalam tildū Kālūram mādi Mullūr-nāda Bōkanahalliyu Ilakādu
vādiya Gorahalli¹ yu loyu-nāda Kūdalūrumam tanna bluja-baladinda padodu
modal kālūsiyam mīndu Rāmēsvaram archi battu kabbul-angaloṇu dha[rmma]kke bitta
mannu khanduga ī dharmmavau alidam kavile . . .

6

On a virakal at Nūdula (in Yēlusivraśhime).

svasti śrī-jayābhuyadaya-Śaka-varusha 1177 ne Rākshasa-sam I Vaiśākha śudha 11 śrī
śrīmat-pratāpa-chakravarti Hoyasana bluja-bala-śrī-Vira-Narasimha-Rāyana . . . kalada 11
Kahigōdina Bira-gavudana maga Sōmayanu boguluttā Bumbiya-nāyakanu tāu dūta Būmayi
Sōmannan odane yattī hōgi kādīdallī biddanu ā Sōmayanu dēva-lōkakke salla-bēkendu ātan
odane-huttida Māri-gavudanu ā Sōme-gavudana maga Māyiganu paripāya mādisida biragallu
mangala-mahā śrī śrī śrī.

¹ The subscript *t* in this and the next word is formed in a peculiar manner. The engraver seems to have had some original ideas. See the stop in line 2, and *nā* in Nandagiri.

² Read *Satyāvākya*.

The double *na* is here expressed by *na*.

³ These two phrases might be read *dēvar avara śiṣhyar* and *bhātārakara avara śiṣhyar*.

⁴ The original impressions showed *Śrīpurada*.

⁵ Read *punnam*.



No. 4.—The Peggur stone Inscription of Satyavakya, A.D. 978

